PLATE I

GOLD JUG

FRANKS BEQUEST

THE TREASURE OF THE OXUS

WITH

OTHER OBJECTS FROM ANCIENT PERSIA AND INDIA

BEQUEATHED TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM
BY SIR AUGUSTUS WOLLASTON FRANKS
K.C.B., F.R.S., P.S.A., LITT.D.

BY

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ANTIQUITIES AND ETHNOGRAPHY

LONDON
PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE TRUSTEES
SOLD AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM
AND BY LONGMANS AND CO., 39 PATERNOSTER ROW
BERNARD QUARITCH, 15 PICCADILLY; ASHER AND CO., 13 BEDFORD STREET, COVENT GARDEN
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND CO., LIMITED, DRYDEN HOUSE, 43 GERRARD STREET, SOHO
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OXFORD
HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

PREFACE

THE following Catalogue describes a series of gold and silver ornaments that had been collected by the late Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, the first Keeper of this Department, and form an important part of his valuable bequest to the Museum at his death in 1897. I have carefully compared the descriptions prepared by Mr. Dalton with the objects themselves.

CHARLES H. READ.

DEPARTMENT OF BRITISH AND MEDIAEVAL
ANTIQUITIES AND ETHNOGRAPHY.
March, 1905.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Compte rendu.

Compte rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique. St. Petersburg, 1859, &c. (Published in French down to 1888, and after that date in Russian.)

CUNNINGHAM [1], [2], [3].

Three articles by General Cunningham in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta). Vol. l (1881), pp. 151 ff., pl. xi–xvii; vol. lii (1883), pt. i, pp. 64 ff., pl. vi and vii, and pp. 258–260, pl. xxi and xxii. (General Cunningham has reproduced in his plates several of the counterfeit copies of real objects in the treasure alluded to on p. 4. In this he has been followed by MM. Kondakoff, Tolstoi, and Reinach.)

DIEULAFOY, *Perse.*

M. Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse.* Paris, 1884, &c.

DIEULAFOY, *Suse.*

M. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse.* Paris, 1890, &c.

FLANDIN AND COSTE.

E. Flandin and P. Coste, *Voyage en Perse.* Paris, 1851. (Although the reproductions in this book are less exact than such photographs as those of Stolze, various small figures have been copied from them on account of the clearness of their style: the points illustrated are, however, of so simple a nature that M. Flandin's fine drawings are quite sufficient for the purpose in view. The references are to the large folio atlases.)

KONDAKOFF.

N. Kondakoff, J. Tolstoi, et S. Reinach, *Antiquités de la Russie Méridionale.* Paris, 1894. (The information as to the Oxus Treasure in this work is derived from General Cunningham's articles mentioned above. But it is a most valuable introductory book to the study of the Graeco-Scythian and Siberian antiquities in the Museum of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, and reproduces a large number of objects previously only to be seen in large and inaccessible albums.)

Materials.

Materials for the Archaeology of Russia. Published by the Imperial Archaeological Commission. St. Petersburg, 1888, &c. (In Russian.)

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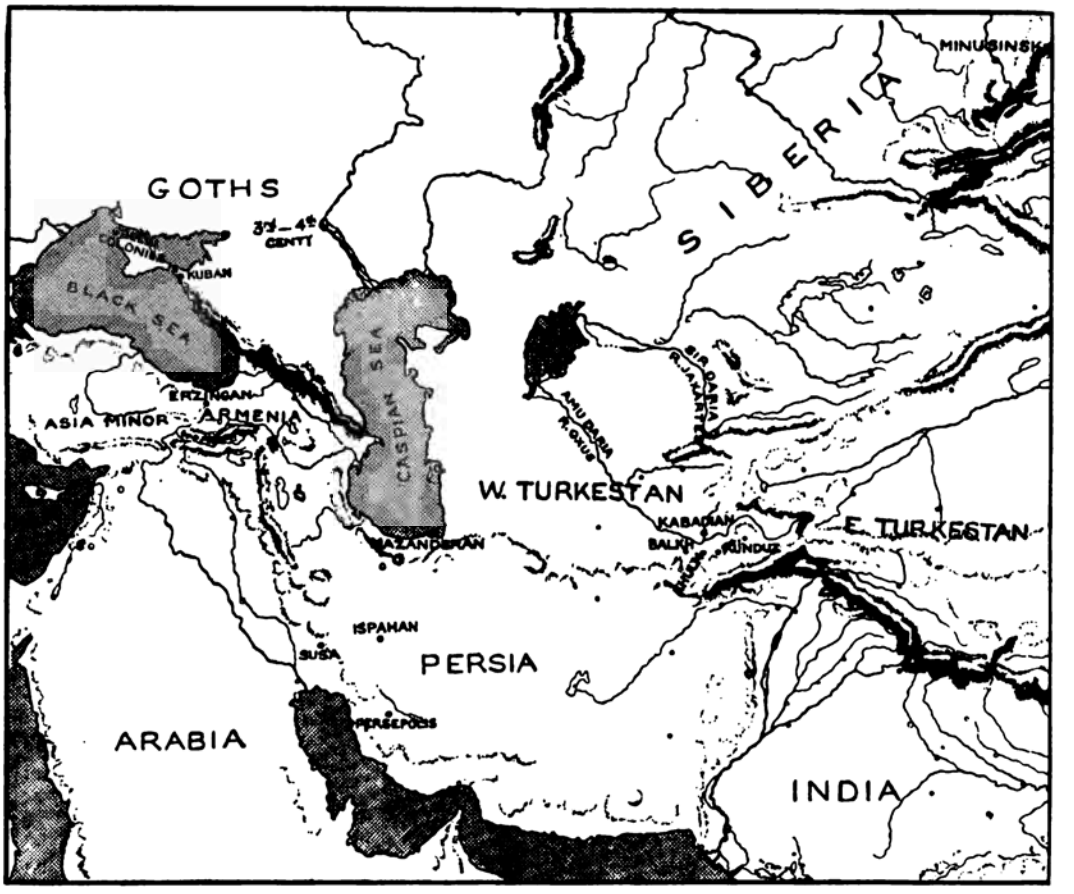


SKETCH-MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE POSITION OF PLACES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT.

INTRODUCTION

Discovery.

THE treasure of the Oxus was found in the year 1877, but the precise site of the discovery is variously given. According to the first published account it was by the side of the river, almost half-way between Khulm (Tash Kurgan) on the south and Kabadian on the north, and two days' journey from Kunduz. It was called by General Sir Alexander Cunningham Takht-i-Kawat or Kuâd, and was described by him as near one of the most frequented ferries on the road to Samarkand. Here the objects composing the treasure were said to have been found scattered about in the sands, and not massed together, a fact which suggests that they may have been washed out of the bank in which they had been buried by an exceptionally high summer flood, carried away by the stream, and deposited on ground which the falling waters left dry in winter. The second account identified Kuâd with Kabadian, a town which lies not on the Oxus but on its tributary the Kafirnahan, a stage to the north of the greater river. This version in general agrees with that told by the Central Asian merchants to Captain Burton, which, however, adds the statement that the place was the site of a submerged city, where the people of the vicinity were in the habit of digging for treasure. Whatever the precise facts may be, it is at any rate certain that in the year above mentioned a discovery of coins and gold and silver objects did take place in this region, and that it was supplemented by additional discoveries a year or two later, both being described by General Cunningham in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*[1]. It is much to be regretted that no European was present on either occasion, but fortunately we have satisfactory evidence that the treasure was actually brought out of the Oxus valley into Kabul, and thence taken to Peshawar, where it was sold: this is in itself a point of some importance, in connexion with the doubts cast upon the authenticity of some of the objects, for it proves that the majority, at any rate, had travelled a long distance before the cunning goldsmiths of Rawal Pindi first set eyes upon them.

[1] 1881, p. 151; 1883, pp. 64 and 258. These three papers are throughout alluded to as Cunningham [1], Cunningham [2], and Cunningham [3], and it is from them that the illustrations in Kondakoff are derived. It is in the third paper that the site of discovery is definitely placed at Kabadian (p. 260), on the authority of a man who had several times visited the spot. On the whole the second version seems to have the weight of evidence in its favour, though the apparent confusion between the Oxus and the Kafirnahan in the statement of the Bokhara merchants (p. 2) is perplexing. Its acceptance would remove the site from Bactria into Sogdiana, but would in no way affect the archaeological position of the treasure or detract from its importance: for Kabadian is less than forty miles to the north of the Oxus.

In May 1880, when Captain (now Colonel) F. C. Burton was political officer in the Tezin valley, and resident at Seh Baba three marches from Kabul, three Mohammedan merchants from Bokhara, who were known to have a quantity of gold upon their mules, were robbed on their journey from Kabul to Peshawar by men of the Khurd Kabul (Barbakkar Khels and Hisarak Ghilzais) at a spot between Seh Baba and Jagdalak: they had foolishly gone on ahead of the convoy escort, and were thus themselves partially to blame for their misfortune. The robbers made off to the hills with the booty, carrying with them the three merchants and their attendant; they crossed the Tesinka Kotal and pushed on to a place named Karkachcha, where there were a number of caves in which they hoped to divide the spoil at leisure. Unfortunately for them, they allowed the merchants' servant to escape; and this man, arriving in Captain Burton's camp at nine o'clock at night, gave immediate information of the robbery. Captain Burton at once set out for Karkachcha with two orderlies, and towards midnight made an unexpected appearance among the bandits, who had already been quarrelling over their plunder. Four of them were lying wounded on the ground, and the treasure, which for the purpose of transport in saddle-bags had been sewn up in a number of small leather packets, was spread out over the floor of the cave. A parley ensued, as a result of which a considerable part of the spoil was surrendered, and Captain Burton then prepared to return home again without further delay, which might have been dangerous. A warning having, however, been conveyed to him that a plan was on foot to waylay him and recover the part of the treasure in his possession, he remained in hiding all night, and only reached his camp at six o'clock on the following morning. He at once threatened to lead a force against the robbers; but when they heard of his intention they came in with another large part of the treasure, bringing the total amount recovered up to about three-quarters of the whole: the rest was probably by this time either melted down or concealed in some inaccessible place. The property was then returned to the three merchants; and during the transfer Captain Burton saw, in one of the bags which had been cut open, the companion armlet to no. 116. He offered to purchase it, and his offer being accepted, he became its possessor then and there: this is the armlet subsequently acquired for the South Kensington Museum, where it is now exhibited. The merchants now continued their journey to Peshawar without further adventure, but while in Captain Burton's camp one of them, named Wazi ad-din, had made the following deposition, which is sufficiently interesting to be quoted almost at length. 'I am one of the merchants who were robbed, when the Ghilzais of Hisarak and Jagdalak attacked us and took all our property. The mules were not taken, but the mule-bags were cut and carried off. They contained gold and silver ornaments, some cups of gold, a silver idol and a gold one, also a large ornament resembling an anklet. Most of the things were found at Khandian (Kabadian), which is submerged in the Oxus; but at certain times in the year when the river is dry, the people dig, and among the old ruins of the city of Khandian find valuable gold things. My companions and myself bought these things, being afraid to carry money, as Abderrahman[1] was at Kunduz, and was taking toll of all

[1] Afterwards Amir of Afghanistan.

travellers and merchants for his army. We were told that the idol and anklet were of the time of Alexander the Great, and they were found at the same time as an ornament which I hear was sent to India to the Burra Lord Sahib[1]. The whole value of the treasure was eighty thousand rupees, and by your influence we have regained fifty-two thousand: I am willing that you should buy the gold anklet[2]. The silver idol has been burnt since it has been stolen, and some of the silver has been melted on it. I have not any further statement to make regarding the things which I hereby acknowledge to have received back from you.'

The three merchants, whose names were Wazi ad-Din, Ghulam Muhammad, and Shuker Ali, were in the habit of trading between Khiva, Samarkand and India, sometimes going as far as Amritsar; this is how they happened to be passing Kabadian at the time when the treasure was for sale. They started with a large sum of money to buy tea, silk, and other goods, but learning as they approached Balkh that Abderrahman was exacting toll in the manner already related, they thought it wise to convert their coin into specie which could be sewn up in leather packets and pass the cordon as merchandise. Many of these bags were still intact when the treasure passed through Captain Burton's hands, but a number had been ripped open during the division which was going on in the cave when the robbers were interrupted. As is usual under such circumstances, the shares were being apportioned by weight, and were exactly balanced by cutting up into small pieces such objects as lent themselves most easily to such treatment: the mutilation of the gold sheath no. 22 may perhaps be explained in this way. The early adventures of the treasure are characteristic of the lawless country in which they occurred; and that any part of it was ever preserved we owe to the energy and resource of Colonel Burton.

Later History.

Down to its arrival at the Indian frontier, the treasure had suffered nothing more than diminution, but after its sale by the Bokhara merchants to certain Hindu dealers of Rawal Pindi, it was exposed to more insidious dangers of addition and interpolation, which have somewhat endangered its good name. It is impossible to say exactly what happened in the interval during which it remained in the dealers' hands before it was ultimately sold to General Sir Alexander Cunningham and Sir A. W. Franks[3]. The dealers of North-Western India are constantly receiving antiquities of various periods discovered within and beyond the frontier, and as they have a large stock-in-trade, they are not unwilling to dispose of miscellaneous objects of various origins by incorporating them with some 'find' considerable enough to have attracted the attention of the archaeological world: by this means their surplus wares are, as it were, placed under convoy, and enter the European market

[1] The Earl of Lytton, Viceroy of India. This ornament was perhaps the gold chariot (fig. 11) at present exhibited in the Edinburgh Museum.

[2] Probably an armlet (*see* p. 110); the incurved back suggests the form of certain anklets worn in India, and this resemblance is perhaps the cause of the merchant's mistake.

[3] Sir A. W. Franks became the purchaser of General Cunningham's collection.

with security and prestige. It would be well if we could say that they were never guilty of any more serious manipulation than this; but too often recourse is had to the more questionable methods of forgery. If the Oxus treasure probably had to suffer from the intrusion of antiquities from the Rawal Pindi stock, it was certainly dishonoured by compromising association with counterfeits. Fortunately, the proceedings of the dealers were as frankly divorced from common prudence as from commercial honesty, and marked by a mingled naïveté and cynicism, not without its amusing side. Objects of an intrinsically less precious material—for instance, the cylinder (no. 114), the disc (no. 24), and the ibex (no. 10)—were reproduced in gold, and these counterfeits were first sent to certain collectors for disposal, the originals being temporarily retained. There was much about these objects which struck Sir A. W. Franks as suspicious, over and above the fact that some of them were of types which are quite unprecedented in gold. But not wishing to divert a possibly important source of supply, he determined to purchase at a small percentage above the gold value, and then to await further developments. These were not long in coming, for when once the counterfeits had been safely disposed of, the originals were duly dispatched in their turn, in order that the purchaser might have to pay for true and false alike. A comparison of the originals with the gold copies at once revealed the difference in quality which had been expected: the imitations had been made with some care, but their modern character was unmistakable.

A greater success may well have been achieved with the coins (*see* below) some of which are thought to have been also counterfeited; for in the province of spurious numismatics the Hindu workmen and their masters have given proof in the past of better judgement and superior technical skill. Experiences of the kind which befell Sir A. W. Franks necessitate a cautious treatment of the Oxus Treasure, for it has passed through places of evil repute and cannot have come out quite unscathed. But although there may still remain objects as to which doubts may legitimately be entertained—especially those of very rough workmanship, which as far as their appearance goes might have been made by an unskilled hand at almost any time—the treasure as a whole may be accepted without misgiving, as a most important addition to our knowledge of a period hitherto but scantily represented in European Museums. No Indian forgers could have produced the magnificent armilla no. 116, nor it is probable that their knowledge of the unexplored province of the Persian minor arts, a province illustrated by no convenient manuals, could have sufficed to command work so nearly in accord with literary and monumental evidence as many of the objects reproduced and discussed in the following pages.

FIG. 1. Inlaid gold armlet of Achaemenian date found at Susa. (After J. de Morgan, *La Délégation en Perse*, Paris, 1902, p. 95.)

Moreover, the authenticity of the large group of collars and armlets (nos. 117–143) is proved beyond dispute by their identity in style with the Achaemenian jewellery from Susa now exhibited in the Louvre (*see* p. 110). For as this was not discovered by the French Delegation until 1902, and its types were practically unknown until that date, it is clear that to have anticipated its most minute details in the year 1880 would have required a prophetic genius to which even a Hindu counterfeiter could lay no claim. If the treasure is to be impugned because it may contain much that still seems equivocal, justice at least demands that the presence of these objects of unimpeachable descent be accepted as evidence on the other side. And it should further be remembered that our comparative ignorance of Central Asiatic antiquities does not justify an irresponsible dogmatism in condemnation of all that we cannot immediately understand. It is easy for an archaeologist to develop a nervous caution more profitless than temerity to the due advancement of learning, and thus to delay communication of highly suggestive facts. But it is not always unscientific to accept risks in a good cause; and in archaeology, as in other fields, there are times when, to borrow a phrase from Milton, it is necessary to scout into the regions of sin and falsity.

Coins.

The question of the date to be assigned to the Oxus Treasure will be more properly discussed after the points raised by its characteristic features have been subjected to a detailed examination. But it is advisable to anticipate in some degree by a brief mention of the coins which formed part of the discovery though they were not specifically mentioned in the short deposition of the Bokhara merchants. According to Sir Alexander Cunningham [1], they were about fifteen hundred in number, and included the following types: darics, pieces of the Satraps Tiribazus, Pharnabazus, Tiridates and Pharnaspes; tetradrachms of Athens; coins of Acanthus in Macedonia, Aspendus, Byzantium and Tarsus; about two hundred pieces of Alexander the Great; coins of Andragoras, Pixodarus of Caria, Lysimachus of Thrace, Seleucus Nikator, Antiochus I, II, III, Diodotus and Euthydemus. With the last king the series abruptly stops, indicating as the latest date for the whole treasure about 200 B.C., so that, roughly speaking, the period within which the objects of gold and silversmiths' work should be comprehended ranges from the fifth to the second century before Christ. It will be seen in the sequel that there are reasons for

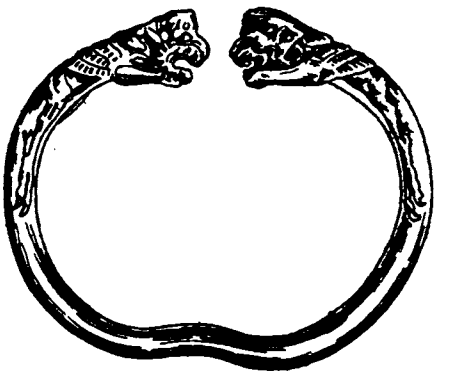


FIG. 2. Gold armlet from Mesopotamia (?) in the Louvre: obtained in Aleppo. (After Perrot and Chipiez, French edition, vol. iv, p. 764.)

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. i, 1881, pp. 162 ff. A few of the coins are in the British Museum, but the greater number have been dispersed.

assigning the greater part to the fourth century; and the later coins seem to have only an adventitious connexion with them. The facts already mentioned as to the addition of supposititious antiquities at Rawal Pindi, may have an equal bearing upon the coins; and there is no certitude that any given coin came from the Oxus, though it is probable that the majority did so. The date thus provisionally suggested carries us back to the Achaemenian period, when the Greeks had merely a subordinate position in Asia as compulsory colonists, adventurers, or workmen ministering to the luxury of the Great King, a time when anything like Hellenic supremacy in Bactria would have been regarded as beyond the bounds of possibility. It may be taken as practically certain, that the bulk of the treasure is not only pre-Seleucid, but also earlier than the memorable expedition of Alexander.

Geography.

Before entering upon a discussion of the problems suggested by the objects themselves, we may endeavour to form some general idea of the country in which they were discovered and of its history during the period thus indicated by the coins. Bactria and Sogdiana, corresponding to the territory of Afghanistan which lies beyond the Hindu Kush and the southern part of Bokhara, are bounded on the east and south by mountains, on the west by the steppes, their geographical situation thus bringing them within the Aralo-Caspian basin. Linked in this manner to distant Europe by a continuous zone of bare, flat country, yet lying on the threshold of the mountain gates to India and Iran, as if in a corner on which all the routes to inner Asia converge, they seemed marked out by nature as the inevitable meeting-place of various cultures. And of this frontier region the tract between Balkh and Khulm has always been the veritable centre, for here the roads to Persia, India, and Central Asia cross each other, and a widely extended commerce brought with it the growth of a considerable population. This character of the Oxus region as a point of junction where different civilisations have for ages reacted upon each other, is the cardinal fact which geography and history alike impress upon us, and its influence is brought continually before the mind as we study the remains which its soil has yielded up after the lapse of more than two thousand years. Only second in importance to this central situation is its possession of the two mighty rivers, the Oxus or Jihoon and the Jaxartes,—the Amu Daria and Syr Daria of modern geography. On these, and on the tributary streams which flow down to meet them, the prosperity of the country has always depended. The whole tract about their upper courses is a land of hills and valleys, favourable to the agricultural and pastoral life of which it is the advanced outpost; beyond it are the untilled northern steppes over which the north winds come down in winter from the Pole untempered by any intervening heights, and, still more dreaded than the winds, the hordes of the raiding nomad horsemen. Even in modern times, after many vicissitudes of invasion and misrule, Bactria has remained for the greater part a pleasant and fertile country, but under the Persian Empire, and perhaps even under the militant Greek Kingdom which succeeded it, the natural advantages of soil and climate were enjoyed under more favourable conditions than now. It had herds of cattle and rich cornfields;

it produced everything except the olive, leading Strabo to quote with approval the eulogy of the Parthian Apollodorus of Artemita, who calls it *πρόσχημα τῆς πάσης Ἀριανῆς*—'the ornament of all Ariana[1]'; and in later times it made the same impression of opulence and fertility upon the first Chinese visitors who came over the mountains under the Han dynasty, and brought home the millet and the vine from their western slopes[2]. There must, indeed, have been some trade with India and China at an even earlier date. With India communication must have been kept up almost from time immemorial, but how early it was regularly maintained with the Middle Kingdom is a matter of dispute. No uninterrupted service of large caravans was perhaps instituted until 140 B.C.[3], when, in the time of the great Han Emperor Wu-ti, the Chinese had discomfited the Hiong Nu and opened communications with the West. Some have urged that there was a permanent commercial intercourse as early as Herodotus, and that the peoples of the Tarim valley were in communication with Western Turkestan long before the days of the Han emperors or of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom[4]. The theory is plausible, and though it may be doubted whether there was any considerable traffic in the earlier period, it may well be that Bactria was never quite a blind alley at the very end of civilisation. The trade-routes on which Alexander placed his Greek colonies must have been in existence long before his time; one road to India ran from Herat (Alexandria of the Arians) through Bactria and the passes of the Hindu Kush; another from Balkh went first to Khulm, and crossing the Bamian pass entered the Kabul valley, where it joined the route from Kandahar; far to the north, the city of Alexandreschate (Khojend) commanded a possible road to China over the range of Tian Shan, and along the northern fringe of Mongolia. On the south the ways into Persia were easy, and on the west the nomad tribes passed from one to the other such wares and ideas as they acquired on the borders of Iran. Communication by water with the West, down the course of the river Oxus, doubtless also existed, but we know little of it, and the trade cannot have been extensive. There is no proof that any Greek ever set eyes on the course of the stream below the confines of Bactria, which would hardly have been the case had there been a lively traffic by this route[5]. In addition to its stock and its agricultural produce, the region of the Upper Oxus and Jaxartes possessed or was able to procure considerable mineral wealth. Gold, which seems to have been

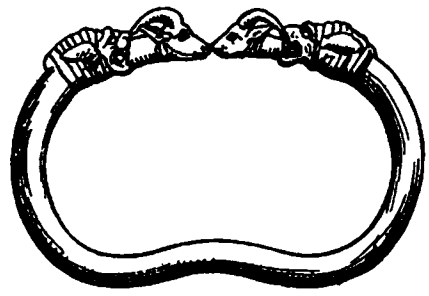


FIG. 3. Gold armlet at Karlsruhe. (After K. Schumacher, *Beschreibung der Sammlung antiker Bronzen . . . der grossh. vereinigten Sammlungen*, pl. ii, no. 7, Karlsruhe, 1890.)

[1] E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, ii, p. 275.

[2] *See* the Chronicle of Se-ma-tsien (c. B.C. 100) translated by Brosset, *Nouveau Journal asiatique*, vol. ii, p. 418; also E. Chavannes, *Les Mémoires de Se-ma-Ts'ien.*

[3] W. W. Tarn, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxii (1902), p. 219.

[4] The question is connected with that of the ancient traffic for gold, on which *see* below, pp. 8 and 9.

[5] W. W. Tarn, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xxii, p. 21.

especially plentiful, was probably derived from the Altai. Opinions differ as to the geographical position of the Arimaspi, with whom, according to Aristeas of Proconnesus, the gryphons fought for gold; it may have been in the north of Europe until Ctesias transferred it to the Eastern Continent[1], but the alternative view which connects the tribes mentioned by Herodotus with the plateaux and mountain-chains of Central Asia[2] is more generally held.

Mineral Wealth.

There is reason to believe that down to the reign of Eucratides it was from the Altai that the Graeco-Bactrian kings drew their principal supplies[3], and the

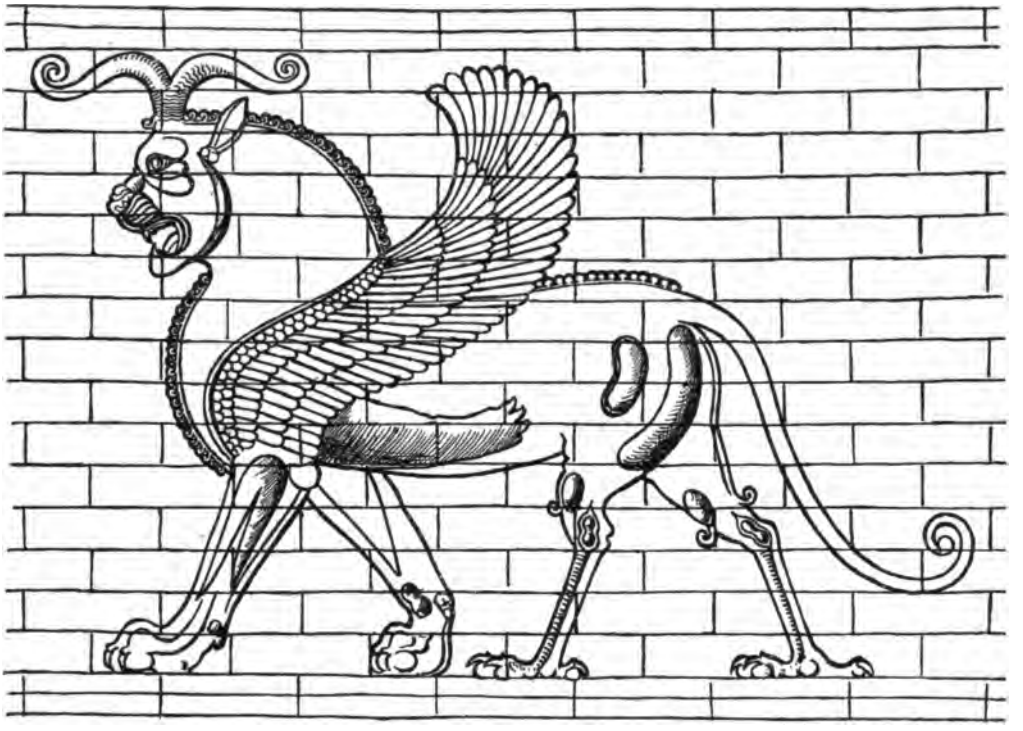


FIG. 4. Monster from the frieze of glazed bricks at Susa. (After M. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, pl. xi.)

knowledge which we derive from Herodotus and Strabo, as to the wealth in gold of the steppe tribes, makes it probable that there was a continuous westward flow of the precious metal until the disturbances created in Central Asia by the movements of the Hiong Nu in the second century. Herodotus' account of the Massagetae with their golden trappings is well known[4]; and of the Aorsi—the

[1] J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, Bk. i, cxxiv, § 6.

[2] Tomaschek, article *Baktrianoi* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der class. Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. ii.

[3] W. W. Tarn, as above.

[4] Bk. i. c. 215 *ὅσα δὲ περὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ ζωστῆρας καὶ μασχαλιστῆρας χρυσῷ κοσμέονται.*

powerful tribe which monopolized the camel-borne trade between India and Mesopotamia across Armenia and the Median hills—Strabo records that they were famous for their wealth of golden ornaments [1]. The accounts of the embassy of Zemarchus, sent by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian to the Turcoman Khan Dizavul in the sixth century, show that in a later age the same luxury prevailed, for the Khan received the ambassador seated upon a golden couch supported on four wheels [2]. There can be little doubt that during the Achaemenian period, Persia, as mistress of all lands up to the Jaxartes, received her share of the golden stream, and the abundance of the precious metals suggested by such a treasure as the present was a natural result of her imperial position. There may have been subsidiary sources of supply derived from the beds of auriferous rivers, for modern travellers have remarked that the hill tribes still wash the mountain streams for gold dust, and Colonel Yule relates the fact of the Galchas of Karatigin [3]. In short, the region of the Oxus must always have been known as rich in gold, and the old belief in the winged guardians in the great mountains to the north, surviving in later times in an altered form, may have given rise to Sir John Maundeville's tale that Bactria was a land of gryphons, which ate men when they could get them, and when they could not, carried off the oxen at the plough.

The precious stones in which the oriental eye takes such keen delight were largely to be found within the limits of Bactria, or were doubtless obtained without difficulty from other parts of the empire. The balas ruby, a red stone only inferior to the Burmese variety, has been mined from days of which there is no exact record on the right bank of the Oxus, in the district of Ish Kasham on the borders of Shighnan [4]. The very name 'balas' is derived from Balakshan, a corruption of Badakshan, the territory in which these districts are comprised [5]. The same country possessed the even more famous mines of lapis lazuli, that deep-blue stone which has also taken its name from a far oriental site. For 'lazuli,' which is the same word as *azul* or *azure*, is derived from Lajwurd or Lazurd, the place in the upper valley of the Kokcha river in Badakshan where the mines are situated. Down to the middle of the nineteenth century there was still an export to Bokhara and China, but the production was small compared to that of old days before Gengiz Khan crippled the whole life and industry of the province [6]. The lapis and the ruby mines are mentioned by the Arab geographers Istakri and Ibn Haukal in the tenth century, but their reputation in Europe is due to Marco Polo [7], the great Venetian traveller of the Middle Ages. The last authority noted the abundance of turquoises in Kerman, whence their importation into Bactria would be an easy matter. Ouseley speaks

[1] *Geogr.* xi. 5. 8 *ἐχρυσοφόρουν δὲ διὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν.*

[2] See the account in the Byzantine writer Menander (*Fragmenta hist. graec.*, vol. iv, p. 22) quoted by Kondakoff, p. 327.

[3] Introduction to Capt. J. Wood's *Journey to the Sources of the Oxus*, 2nd ed., 1872, p. lxxxi. On the question of gold in Asia, *see* A. L. Bertier Delagarde in *Materials*, 1894, p. 14.

[4] Wood, as above, p. 206.

[5] É. Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie universelle*, vol. vi (1881), p. 474.

[6] Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. i, p. 154; Wood, as above, p. 170.

[7] Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Hindou-Kouch* (Paris, 1896), pp. 217-219.

of a turquoise mine at Shebavek, a hundred miles west of the city of Kerman, not far from Parez, where Abbott mentions another of the same stones[1]. In Khorassan were the renowned mines of Naishapur whence the turquoise is still extracted, while far north of the Oxus at Khojend it was also to be obtained.

Fauna.

Among the fauna of Bactria and Sogdiana may be mentioned in the first instance the camel, represented on the mutilated gold plaque (no. 98), the lion, the deer, the fox, the wolf, the hog, most of which animals were still observed by Moorcroft about 1820 between Kunduz and the Oxus. The special haunts of the lion are the plains north of Koh-i-ambar; the tiger is said to be still found on the lower course of the Syr Daria, though it is now rare, and the *argali* or *ovis ammon*, with the antelope, is found in the modern Russian government which takes its name from the same river[2]. Bactria is yet famous for its horses; for those of Andkhoi the people claim descent from the charger of the hero Rustam, as in Badakshan in Marco Polo's day the pedigree of the local breed was traced back to Bucephalus; while modern travellers have praised the steeds of Kunduz, which are small and hardy, with large fore and hind quarters, framed rather for endurance than for speed[3]. Bactrian cavalry served in all the Persian armies, and the strength of the country under its independent kings lay largely in its mounted troops. Se-Ma-Tsien (*see* pp. 7 and 17) describes the famous horses of Ta Yuan (Ferghana) that sweated blood, and in B.C. 102 the desire of the Chinese to obtain greater and more regular supplies of these animals led them to armed intervention in the country. They sent an expedition which besieged the royal city of Eulche (Uratube) but failed to take the inner citadel, and returned to China with a certain number of horses, though apparently fewer than they had hoped to procure. The region has always deserved the epithet ἱππόβοτος, which Homer applies to Argolis, and it is therefore in accordance with the fitness of things that the treasure should contain numerous representations of these animals. Among the principal birds may be mentioned the eagle, the vulture, the falcon, the heron, the stork, and the wild goose.

FIG. 5. Ibex from an oriental bronze vase in the British Museum.

[1] Yule, as above, pp. 86-87.

[2] Possibly the Himalayan ibex (*capra ibex*) extended to the confines of Bactria. But the animals represented by nos. 10 and 136 may perhaps be intended for the pasang (*capra aegagrus*), or Persian wild goat, which ranged in classical times from Sind and Afghanistan to Asia Minor and the Greek Islands. See R. Lydekker, *The Royal National History*, vol. ii, pp. 239 and 247.

[3] Wood as above, p. 143.

Social Condition and Population.

The social conditions of the country under the Achaemenian kings would appear to have been almost of a feudal nature. In strong positions on rocks and in high valleys stood almost impregnable castles, in which the great nobles maintained large bodies of retainers. The pride of the Bactrian aristocracy was proverbial, and it was perhaps owing to their wealth and power that their satrapy occupied a predominant position in the Persian Empire [1]. The satrap was usually either a son of the great king or a prince of royal blood [2], and after the defeat of Darius by Alexander it was Bessos of Bactria who took the lead among the fugitive Persians. Nowhere was so stubborn a resistance offered to the Macedonian conqueror as here; nowhere else were there such desperate and repeated revolts against the new order of things. The names of Spitamenes, Catanes, Chorianes, and Haustanes, are conspicuous in the story of these rebellions; and Oxyartes, who defended his stronghold against the most persevering attacks, was thought worthy to give his daughter as bride to the new lord of the East. There was almost a separate and national patriotism in the land of the Oxus and Jaxartes, intensified perhaps by its exceptional religious associations. For Bactria was the scene of Zoroaster's most active years, remaining the principal centre of Mazdeism up to the time of the conquest; and it was the hatred of the people for a proposed reform of their funeral usages which has caused Alexander the Great to be remembered in the Persian sacred books as a monster of evil and the impious enemy of true religion. The general impression which we receive of Bactria in pre-Macedonian times is that of a country enjoying a certain measure of local independence, strongly devoted to the national religion, and prosperous in spite of an autocratic government and an almost feudal nobility. The prevailing conditions of life were rural rather than urban, for there was no great multiplication of towns until the Greeks had taken possession of the land. But Baktra or Baktrish (Balkh) even in Achaemenian times claimed an immemorial antiquity, and was traditionally known as the 'mother of cities' It is mentioned in the Avesta and in the inscriptions of Darius, while many authors, from Ctesias and Arrian down to Firdausi and later Mahommedan writers, have sung its praises and recorded its venerable age [3]. It was the centre of official, religious and commercial life in the province, was honoured in its traditions of Zoroaster, and enjoyed a reputation unequalled by that of any other city east of Babylon and Susa.

FIG. 6. Lion-gryphon from a capital at Persepolis. (After Flandin and Coste.)

In the Oxus region, the population consisted in the main of round-headed men of the Alpine stock, who were very largely Aryanized and spoke Iranian dialects.

[1] Droysen, *L'Histoire de l'Hellénisme*, i. p. 374. [2] Bevan, as above, ii, 275.

[3] F. Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, vol. i, p. 42 (Leipzig, 1871).

The modern Tajiks[1], though their blood has been modified in an increasing degree by the admixture of Turcoman and Persian elements, still represent this people, which formed the bulk of the population when the house of Achaemenes ruled over the western half of Asia. They are now devoted entirely to sedentary pursuits, and are gathered in large groups about Khulm, Kunduz, Maimene, Andkhoi, and Badakshan, extending even to Bokhara, Ferghana, and Samarkand, and thus forming islands and archipelagos in the Turanian Sea. Continual relations with the nomadic tribes hovering upon their northern flank must have led to a frequent interchange of ideas and a mutual assimilation of tastes and customs, especially as this intercourse cannot have been uniformly hostile. We may gather so much from certain episodes which occurred at the time of Alexander's invasion. When Spitamenes revolted, he took refuge with the Massagetae and other tribes of the steppes; and the insurgent Sogdianians employed Dahae and Sacae against the Macedonian troops. Such facts seem to point to some previous amicable relations which would insensibly bring about artistic as well as political results; and the discussion of certain objects in the present collection will tend to show that such was actually the case. For the treasure emanates from a region long under Persian rule, where Persian artistic taste predominated, but where the influence of neighbouring barbaric tribes must have been continually felt[2].

The Scythians.

It has already been suggested that the neighbourhood of the steppes was a cardinal fact in the history of Bactria and its sister province; a consideration of the peoples which roamed over their surface will show yet more clearly how significant for the culture of two continents this vicinity was to prove. The nomadic tribes of the old world formed a homogeneous community dispersed through a broad zone, extending over fifty degrees of longitude, from the basin of the Yenisei to the eastern slopes of the Carpathians. Their uniformity depended upon a common life rather than a common blood, for unity of race could never have existed over the whole of so vast an expanse. Nomadic habits are conditioned by environment no less than by physical relationship, and there were in ancient times at many points along the line nomadic peoples of Iranian speech and even of Caucasic stock, divided by no natural barrier from similar populations of another race: indeed to a stranger from the south all must have seemed alike in outward appearance, for the equipment of the mounted horsemen from the north of the Jaxartes can have differed but little from that of the mobile hordes of European Scythia. Gibbon has given characteristic expression to this elementary truth in the twenty-sixth chapter of the *Decline and Fall*: 'Reduced to a

[1] Ch. de Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Hindou-Kouch* (Paris, 1896), pp. 112 ff., and *L'Expédition scientifique française en Russie, en Sibérie, et dans le Turkestan*, pp. 67-70. M. de Ujfalvy's account is based upon his own observation, supplemented by the researches of the Russian traveller Kkanikoff, and the English explorer Capt. John Wood. The second edition of the latter's book, with its introduction by Colonel Yule (already cited), is rich in information with regard to the peoples of this part of Asia.

[2] On the ethnology of Persia and the countries to the north-west, see also A. H. Keane, *Man, Past and Present* (Cambridge, 1900), pp. 553 ff.; Dieulafoy, *Suse* (Paris, 1893), pp. 18 ff.

similar situation, their wants, their desires, their enjoyments, still continue the same ..... and the banks of the Borysthenes, of the Volga or of the Selenga (in Mongolia) will indifferently present the same spectacle of similar and native manners [1]." It was this conspicuous unity of vagrant life with horse and tent and wagon, which impressed itself so vividly upon all the early historians, and compelled them to abandon any attempt at the nicer distinctions of ethnology. With the exception of Herodotus and Hippocrates, who attempt to make discriminations, they are apt to use the comprehensive word Scythian to cover all the nomad peoples; and however much we may now lament its perplexing vagueness, we must admit that in an age before anthropometry some such term was a simple necessity of description.

FIG. 7. Monster from a small stone panel of Achaemenian date in Paris. (From the *Gazette archéologique*, vol. viii, pl. 41.)

Ethnologically indeed, as in part physically, the Steppes may be compared to a vast marine basin bounding the whole region of sedentary peoples from the slopes of the Altai to the south of Russia. Through its southern borders, like a great ocean current, rolled westward a stream of nomad peoples from Inner Asia, blending as it passed with a human river flowing to the north out of Persia. Here Iran and Turan met and mingled, and the zone of their confluence was coloured by the qualities of both. Just as in nature the brackish tides of a river-mouth merge by insensible gradations in the sweet water and the open sea, so here, though in the mass the blending was conspicuous, the outermost lines of ethnical division must always have been vague and sometimes almost imperceptible. It was to this frontier region of converging influences that the two most northerly provinces of ancient Persia belonged, and we shall shortly have occasion to discuss the archaeological results of this advanced situation. Whatever may have been the affinities of the Scythians in Southern Russia, the nomads who in the seventh century pressed upon the Assyrians and the

[1] Quoted by Keane, as above, p. 318.

Medes seem to have swept down from the East, and can hardly have belonged to the Indo-European stock[1]. From their time at any rate, the stream of invasion flowed steadily from the north of the great plateau of Asia where Indo-Europeans were not then found; and therefore the nomads with whom the old Persian Empire had to deal, were in all probability of Mongolo-Turki or Finno-Turki stock. For our present purpose, concerned as we are with the Achaemenian period alone, we may abstract altogether from prehistoric times for reasons which will hereafter appear. It matters little to us whether the early Scythians of Russia were related to the (Iranian) Sarmatians[2], who by the time of the *Periplus* of Scylax (B. C. 346) had overrun the country from the Caspian to the Don; nor is it a point of any great importance that non-Turanian nomads may once have occupied a similar relative position north of the Oxus and Jaxartes. What does matter is that at the beginning of reliable history the artistic taste of all these peoples, whether their seats were east or west of the Ural chain, was not that of Europe or Iran but that of the innermost parts of Asia (*see* p. 36). Although we are not justified in deducing from this fact a universal political supremacy of the Mongoloid tribes, we may assert with some confidence that in many aspects of nomad culture the Ural-Altaic influence was everywhere predominant. The Scythian question has perhaps been debated too much from the philological point of view: but archaeology is also in a position to throw some light upon this dark subject, and its evidence goes far to prove that no matter how many Indo-European nomads may once have roamed the Steppes, the art which they all adopted was introduced among them by another race. It will be shown that long before the Sarmatians moved west from the Caspian, an artistic style imported from Asia had already entered South-eastern Europe; and that the culture of the European Steppes became at last so deeply coloured by these Asiatic elements as to bear a character distinct from that of the regions to the West. Bearing this central fact in mind, we may leave on one side all the linguistic and racial speculations which have made the Scythians the bugbear of ethnologists, and frankly adopt the word Scythic in as general a sense as that in which it was employed by the later Greek historians. It will be used in these pages to signify a certain barbaric taste in decoration revealed to us by the excavation of tombs, both in Europe and in Asia; and we shall not be too curious to inquire whether the men over whose remains those tombs were erected were of pure or of mixed descent. Ethnologically the Scythians may elude definition, for as with the circle of Trismegistus, their centre may seem to be everywhere and their circumference nowhere; but archaeology at least allows us to associate their name with one definite order of ideas, and through this, with one particular part of the world. The Scythians with whom the early Persian monarchy had to deal, were men with a distinctive art of eastern and not western origin; and their ancestral tombs were not upon the European Borysthenes[3] but far away towards the waters of the Yenisei[4].

[1] This may be inferred from Ctesias (in Diodorus, ii. 34).

[2] Herodotus, iv. 117.

[3] Herodotus, iv. 71.

[4] The Scythian problem may be studied in the following authors and works among others: Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. iii, pp. 187 ff.; K. Neumann, *Die Hellenen im Skythenlande*; Ukert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, vol. iii; Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*;

History.

Such were the inhabitants of Central Asia at the close of the last millennium before Christ, and such was the country into which Alexander penetrated in B. C. 329, marching over the Hindu Kush from the Cabul Valley, with the city of Baktra for his goal. The place was occupied by Bessos, who, after the abduction and murder of Darius Codomannus, had retreated within his own satrapy, accompanied by his fellow conspirators. On the approach of the hostile army he hastily took flight, and finding himself abandoned by his Bactrian horsemen, gained the northern bank of the Oxus, burning the boats on which he passed. The Macedonian king hardly stayed to appoint another satrap and to throw troops into Aornos (Kunduz?) before starting on the heels of the enemy. Bessos had escaped in the direction of Bokhara; but his associates, disheartened by the rapidity of the pursuit, surrendered him to a foe whose consistent good-fortune must have seemed the result of some superhuman power. The captive was held in durance till the time came for him to atone for the blood of his master by his own; but meanwhile the victor pushed on from Maracanda (Samarkand) to the Jaxartes, the last of the then known rivers, which the ancient geographers confused with the Tanais of Eastern Europe. Alexander had just reached these remote confines and was entering into relations with a Scythian embassy from the western Steppes, when, at the instigation of Spitamenes, Bactria and Sogdiana broke into open revolt behind him, and the Macedonian garrisons were massacred in Maracanda and other towns. The energy and resources of the king were equal to the crisis which threatened him: he subdued Sogdiana, and defeated a body of hostile Scythians who had gathered on the far bank of the Jaxartes, waiting to take advantage at the first sign of his discomfiture. The cold season of B. C. 329–328 he was able to pass at Balkh, having founded before his departure the town of Alexandreschate (Khojend) to command the frontier region of the North. During this winter he put Bessos on his trial for the murder of Darius before a jury of Persian nobles, and, causing his nose and ears to be cut off after the manner of

FIG. 8. Head of Darius from the Mosaic of the battle of Issus at Naples. (After Niccolini, *Quadro in musaico*, pl. v.)

K. Müllenhoff, in *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1866; Fligier, in *Archiv für Anthropologie*, vol. xvii, p. 302; *Materials*, 1894, pp. 99, 100; a great deal of useful information will also be found in Kondakoff (*see* index under *Scythes*). Rawlinson and Zeuss decide in favour of an Indo-European origin chiefly on philological grounds: Neumann is in favour of a Mongolo-Turki derivation. Sir Henry H. Howorth, whose important work on the later nomads is well known, has some interesting remarks upon the Scythians and Sarmatians in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. vi (1877), pp. 41 ff. On the Mongoloid peoples *see* A. H. Keane, *Ethnology*, ch. xii (Cambridge, 1896).

oriental justice, sent him to Ecbatana to be crucified. Once more the untameable Sogdianians revolted, and once more Alexander had to cross the Oxus, finding the whole country in arms and the nobles bidding him defiance from their mountain fastnesses. While he was engaged in reducing the strong places, the resourceful Spitamenes, at the head of the Massagetae, with whom he had taken refuge, ceaselessly threatened the Macedonian communications, appearing once even before the walls of Zariaspa (either Balkh or Andkhoi). But it was his fate to be betrayed like Bessos; for his Scythian allies, on the approach of the Macedonian army, cut off his head and sent it to Alexander as a propitiatory offering. Peace was not restored until B. C. 327, when the citadel of Oxyartes was scaled, and the stronghold of Chorienes

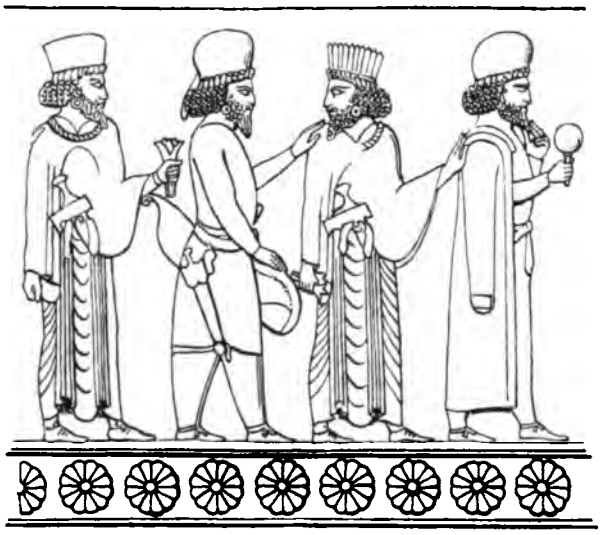


FIG. 9. Four figures from a sculptured frieze at Persepolis.
(After Flandin and Coste, vol. ii, pl. 95.)

on the Upper Oxus at last reduced to submission. After achieving this success, the king was soon back once more in Balkh, preparing for the invasion of Hindostan. The very same year he marched towards the Indus, and Bactria saw him no more.

The history of Bactria after the death of Alexander in B. C. 323 is soon told [1]. The foundation of numerous Greek cities peopled by Macedonian and Greek soldiers modified the character of the population, though it can hardly have affected the country districts. In B. C. 248 the Greek Diodotus felt himself strong enough to throw off his allegiance to the Seleucid King, and the new Graeco-Bactrian throne was transmitted to another Diodotus, his son. But Diodotus II was overthrown by Euthydemus, a native of one of the Magnesias in Asia Minor, who survived with undiminished strength an invasion of Antiochus III, styled the Great. That monarch,

[1] It may be conveniently read in Mr. Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* (Oxford, 1904), chapter v, &c. See also Kondakoff, pp. 345 ff.; Droysen, *Histoire de l'Hellénisme*, vol. ii, and Prof. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, in G. Bühler's *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Alterthumskunde*, vol. ii, Strasburg, 1897.

after besieging the capital city Zariaspa, came to terms with the enemy, to whom he confirmed the title of king under a nominal Seleucid suzerainty (B. C. 206). At this point the limits of time suggested by the coins of the Oxus Treasure are overpassed, but as the ensuing political changes in this part of Asia are in organic connexion with what went before and help to make intelligible the latter periods to which other objects in the Franks Bequest belong, it will be convenient to carry this brief abstract down to the point of contact with the Sassanian Monarchy. Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, overran the Punjab and made conquests down the Indus, while expeditions seem to have been undertaken, doubtless for commercial purposes, as far as the Tarim valley in East Turkestan. Eucratides, the next king, had also extensive dominions in India; but about the close of his reign Parthia began to enlarge her borders and the rise of this power isolated the Greeks of Bactria from their countrymen in the West. They sought compensation at the expense of Hindostan, and by the reign of Heliocles (c. B. C. 160–120) the transference of Greek power from Bactria to the south of the Paropamisus was complete: their dynasty was now Indo-Greek rather than Graeco-Bactrian. About B. C. 165, the Saka (Sacae, Sse), who had formerly come into conflict with the Persian and Seleucid monarchies, and since the middle of the third century had occupied Sogdiana, were driven across the river by the Yueh-chi, a formidable tribe either of Tibetan or of Turki stock, themselves flying before the Hiong Nu. The Greeks had now to confront both Sakas and Parthians, and the end of their rule was near. About B. C. 120 the Yueh-chi conquered Bactria, driving the Saka on into India. A hundred years later, the Kuṣana, the principal tribe of the Yueh-chi, subdued the whole of northern India and the period of Greek dominion in Asia was at an end.

FIG. 10. Mythological combat from Persepolis. (After Flandin and Coste.)

Our chief knowledge of the Scythian conquest is derived from the Chinese writer, Se-Ma-Tsien, already mentioned on p. 7, who relates the mission of Chang Kien, the Chinese envoy to the Yueh-chi about B. C. 128. The Chinese emperor desired to obtain the alliance of this people against the Hiong Nu, with whom they had an hereditary feud. Chang Kien contrasts the peaceful and settled Bactrians with the nomadic and warlike Scythians, and notes that all the sedentary people from Ferghana to Parthia spoke a mutually intelligible (Iranian) language. He says that there were separate chiefs in each city, and this may mean that there was a reversion to the system of local chiefs or nobles living in fortresses of their own, which was in existence before the invasion of Alexander. In all this account there is no mention of any surviving

Greek influence. It is possible that the last Greeks, weakened by a succession of wars, had been already driven across the Hindu Kush into India, leaving the Iranian element to reassert its old supremacy, and that the frequency of Iranian deities upon Indo-Scythian coins may illustrate the process of degeneration[1]. The condition of declining Hellenism in Bactria and in the colonies of South Russia offers many points of analogy. Both became isolated from the Greek world and succumbed at last before the barbaric vigour of Scythian tribes[2]. But in Bactria the higher civilisation had a shorter and more perilous course to run, and its resistance was less protracted. Success depended on the constant renewal of the wastage caused by wars and by natural causes, but from the nature of the case no renewal was here possible: there came a time when the Orient reclaimed its own, as the tropical jungle returns and overgrows the handiwork of an intrusive civilisation.

Date of the Treasure.

At the end of this short summary of Bactrian history we may pause to ask which of the various periods described in it can claim the objects composing the Oxus Treasure considered in complete abstraction from the coins. The reply is that the bulk of them were produced under the Achaemenian monarchy, and illustrate the art of the goldsmiths and silversmiths of Persia from the fifth to the close of the fourth century B. C. The gold sheath no. 22, if accepted as genuine, must be earlier, and certain objects such as the armlets with barbaric ornament (nos. 144–5) may be later; but as a whole, the treasure may be fairly described as Achaemenian work. A consideration of individual numbers will make this abundantly clear. The collars or armlets of the type illustrated by no. 118 (pl. xvii and no. 117, fig. 68) are shown to belong to the beginning of the fourth century by their identity with the similar ornaments discovered by the French Delegation at Susa in association with a coin of Aradus (*see* note to no. 117). This fact enables us to assign the gold jug of pl. i to the same period, on account of the parallel treatment of the lion's head ornamenting the handle. Turning to the armilla of pl. xvi, and noting the resemblance of its monsters on the one hand to those of Persepolis, and on the other to those of Susa (figs. 4 and 10), we may confidently attribute this fine example of the Iranian goldsmith's art to a period not far removed from B.C. 400; the incurved form of the back, resembling that of other archaic armlets (figs. 1, 2, and 3), cannot but confirm the attribution. The little chariot on pl. iv, fitting as it does into its appropriate place in the general evolution of the chariot (*see* below, p. 58), cannot well be later than the fourth century; and the *candys* with empty sleeves which the seated personage appears to be wearing, affords a clue to the date of the gold statuette (no. 2, pl. xii), a date confirmed by the

[1] Dr. M. A. Stein is of opinion that the Kuṣana may have become acquainted with Zoroastrianism when on the Oxus (*Indian Antiquary*, 1888, pp. 89–98. Mr. Tarn suggests that the Bactrian mints may have employed Iranian workmen under Greek or Graecized artists, and that when the Greek supervision was removed, the workmen may have introduced the designs which were most acceptable to their faith and nationality.

[2] J. P. Mahaffy, *The Greek World under Roman Sway*, pp. 87, 88 (London, 1890).

appearance of the same garment on the sculptures of Persepolis and Lycia (figs. 9 and 37), and by its mention in contemporary literature (*see* p. 51). The second gold chariot, belonging to the Earl of Lytton (fig. 11), sufficiently resembles the first to be assigned without misgiving to the same period, and therefore the horse, no. 8 (pl. xii), which once belonged to it, must be of the same age. The gold patera of pl. vii, exhibiting as it does conventions in the treatment of animal forms derived from Assyria and occurring on Persian cylinders (fig. 40), might well be placed within the limits of the fifth century; and the similarity of the schematic representations of the lions' muscles, recalling those seen not only on the armilla of pl. xvi, but also on the animals on the silver umbo of pl. ix, the gold figures of stags on pl. vi, and the fragment

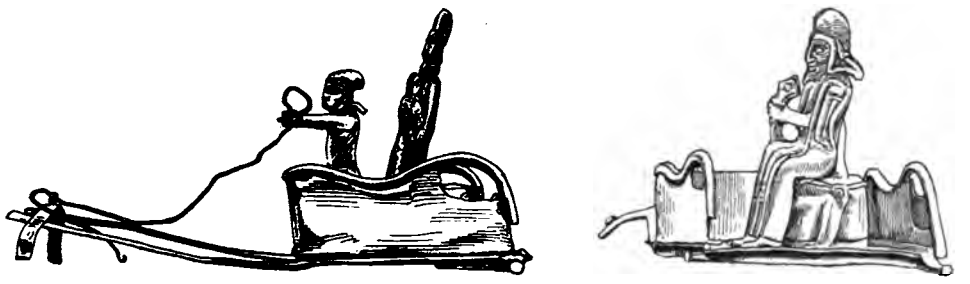


FIG. 11. Gold model of a chariot belonging to the Earl of Lytton (two views).

of an armlet, no. 136, on pl. xx, justify the attribution of these objects, if not to the fifth century, at any rate to the period immediately succeeding it. The umbo must be assigned to the fourth century for yet other reasons, for its mounted figures closely resemble those of Graeco-Persian gems, of the Chertomlyk dagger-hilt (fig. 12), and of the coins of Evagoras II of Salamis (fig. 30), a prince who reigned from B.C. 361 to 351. In its turn it helps us to date the type of figure with Persian head-dress seen on pl. xiii, while the dagger worn by that figure—corresponding as it does in form to the Vettersfelde sheath (fig. 22), to those seen at Persepolis and in Lycia (figs. 9 and 37), and also to the recorded Scythian type (*see* note to no. 22), affords further confirmatory evidence, bringing with it into the fourth century a number of the other gold plaques of the series nos. 48 to 100. The gold medallion of pl. x has a lotus-border of a type eminently characteristic of Achaemenian Persia, as is shown by the example from Susa (fig. 52), itself identical with carved lotus-ornament at Persepolis. And as certain palmettes from Susa (fig. 54) are very similar to that seen on no. 47 (pl. xii), we obtain for that object a date which is rendered all the more certain by the occurrence of a similar palmette on the Chertomlyk dagger-hilt (fig. 12), already brought into connexion with fourth-century Salaminian coins. The silver ibex and patera of pl. v are both of types which can hardly be brought down later than B.C. 350; the silver statuette (no. 1) on pl. ii, by its analogies with figures engraved on cylinders (fig. 28), and with those on Persepolitan reliefs (fig. 9), is in all probability, like the cylinder no. 114, earlier than the year 400. The fine gold ornament with the lion-gryphon (no. 23, fig. 50) is also to be associated with monuments of

the fourth century, while the disc bearing the same monster (no. 28, pl. xi) with its bird-like hind-legs, and its fifth-century type, seems to guarantee an equal age to the other bracteates of the same character. Such rings as no. 106, with its close approximation to the type of the Persepolitan capital (fig. 14), supply yet another indication in the same sense, and the costume of the figures on nos. 103 and 104 is that of Persian ladies under the early monarchy (cf. fig. 36). The objects which are either purely Greek, like the gem no. 113, or directly inspired by Greek models, like the rings nos. 101 and 102, tell the same tale: they are all of fourth-century types, and the gem goes back to quite the beginning of the century.

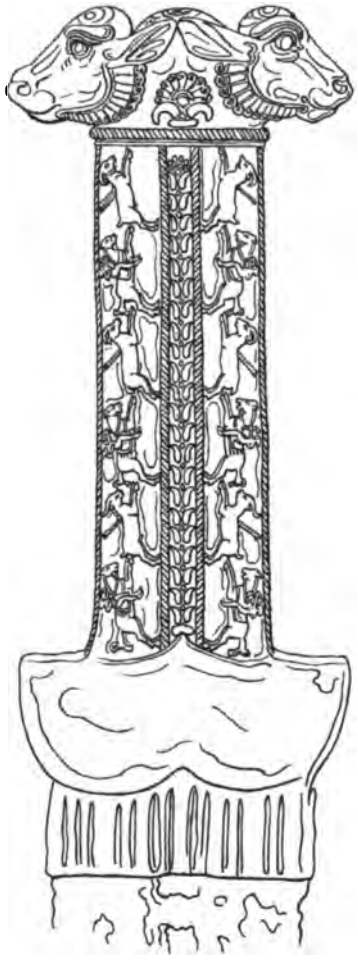


FIG. 12. Gold dagger-hilt from tumulus of Chertomlyk, South Russia. (After *Compte rendu*, 1865, pl. v, fig. 2.)

It would be easy to add to this cumulative evidence further parallels and comparisons by means of which the Achaemenian origin of the treasure might be established on a yet broader foundation; but enough has perhaps been already said to convert probability into practical certainty, and to carry back to the same early date the objects from Armenia which were independently obtained (*see* notes to nos. 178–186).

The foregoing remarks have anticipated in some degree the points which must next be discussed, when we ask what influences contributed to affect the art of the Oxus Treasure. The discussion may appropriately begin by an attempt to analyse the principal characteristics of the eclectic Persian art of the Achaemenian dynasty; we may then proceed to inquire what traces there are of direct Hellenic instruction, as distinct from the mediate and diffused Greek influence, which more or less coloured all the work of Persia during this period. It will be next essential to examine the effect on Persian art of the neighbouring Scythian tribes, and inquire whether or not China had a voice in the designing of any subjects or designs here illustrated. And finally we may notice the small residue of objects which seem to lie outside all recognized categories, and are possibly the work of an indigenous art.

Character of Ancient Persian Art.

To those who are familiar with the exquisite work of mediaeval and later times, it may seem a paradoxical statement that Iran had originally little or no art of its own, and that Persia perhaps reached her greatest eminence when she had lost her ancient

religion and sacrificed much of her individuality by blending freely with foreign peoples. It has been remarked that Persia owed a great debt to Greek literature, which treated her with the respect due to the protagonist of Asiatic against Hellenic ideas; and that this historical prominence has perhaps unduly affected the estimate which posterity has formed of early Persian art. Persia thus gained an oecumenical repute by the literary abilities of her enemies, who were naturally impressed by the vastness and resources of the great king's dominions. They dwelled upon the wealth and power of Iran, and their readers in all ages have been unable to associate so much splendour with anything in the nature of artistic dependence. But if the Iranians had been a race deeply imbued with artistic sentiment, and endowed with a hereditary talent to give it a fitting expression, they would have imposed an art of their own upon their vanquished provinces when the empire of Western Asia fell into their hands. They do not seem to have been thus gifted; and a study of the work which they have left behind them—the carved columns and reliefs of Persepolis, the glazed bricks of Susa, the intaglio cylinders and gems, the goldsmith's work, and the coins of kings and satraps—reveals the presence of no commanding original genius. There is dignity and even grandeur in their monumental sculpture, and a marvellous feeling for colour in the friezes of Susa, but in the pomp of figures upon these reliefs we miss alike the vigour of the Assyrian sculptor with his wonderful comprehension of animal life, and the graceful freedom imparted by a Greek hand. With all its imposing strength, the best work of ancient Persia is abstract and formal, wearying the eye with a hieratic precision of detail and an endless repetition of general types. The great art of Achaemenian times was stiff and ceremonious because it was devoted to the glorification of the Great King: in the picturesque phraseology of M. Darmesteter, it was the caprice of one who was at the same time a despot and a dilettante, with a saving appreciation of the grand style. As far as subjects were concerned, the Persians were inspired by Babylonia and Assyria, and in a less degree by Egypt, but in technical matters they were largely influenced by the Greeks, who taught them

FIG. 13. Archer from the frieze of Susa. (After Dieulafoy, *Suse*, pl. vii.)

among other things how to represent folds in drapery [1] instead of continuing to follow the rigid Assyrian manner. Men like Telephanes of Phocaea lived at the Persian court [2], and the western satraps must have had all the talent of Ionia at their service. In fact the Persians could hardly have escaped Greek influence if they had tried, for the Hellene was everywhere in their path, and to have taken no advantage of the skill and taste which were thus placed at their disposal would argue an apathy and a want of intelligence of which they cannot be accused. But the Empire which succeeded to the inheritance of Babylon and Assyria must also have been able to command the hereditary talent of Mesopotamia and Chaldaea, and to appropriate arts and methods which had never been indigenous to Greece. The most conspicuous instance of such appropriation is to be seen in the wonderful chromatic decoration in glazed brick of the palaces at Susa, the prototypes of which must be sought in Babylonia [3]. The friezes of Susa, with their archers, lions, and gryphons, and their development of lotus motives and rosettes in schemes of the most harmonious effect, in themselves afford a striking proof of the many-sided obligations of the Achaemenian workman. The process of glazing bricks in colour is Babylonian; the lotus-forms are of Egyptian descent; the treatment of the archers with their folded draperies owes much either to the direct instruction of the Greek or to the propinquity of monuments of Greek art. It may fairly be inferred that a similar variety of influences conditioned the growth of minor arts, such as those of the jeweller and goldsmith, now so brilliantly represented by the recent discoveries of the French Delegation on this very site of Susa; and, if this is so, the attempt to connect the inlaid jewellery of Achaemenian Persia with earlier work of a similar kind in Assyria and Egypt (*see* p. 24) has a reasonable measure of probability in its favour. It is but natural to assume that the city in which were discovered the admirable jewels now in the Louvre was also the place of their manufacture; for in what spot was the skilful blending of coloured stones and gold more probable than in this royal residence, which drew upon the resources of three civilisations and had more opportunities of appreciating colour than any other place in the empire? If there are objects in the Oxus Treasure and in St. Petersburg, all obtained in Central Asia but identical in style and technique with these Susian jewels, it is surely less rash to ascribe the whole to the school of Susa than to imagine that the rude tribes of the Steppes instructed the luxurious city of kings. It may be that, like the polychrome friezes, they also show in their details the impress of Greek taste, and that the fine treatment of the animals' heads upon some of them may be partly due to Hellenic inspiration. To admit the possibility is but to make the jewellery fall into line with the related art of gem-engraving, in which a similar association of oriental and Hellenic elements may be remarked, for it is supposed that though the subjects of the earliest Persian cylinders are oriental, the hands that engraved them were very often Greek, and that by degrees the art was emancipated from the restrictions of court and official etiquette.

[1] Dieulafoy, *Suse*, pp. 294, 295; Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, vol. iii, p. 117.

[2] Heuzey, *Revue bleue*, 1886, pp. 661 ff., quoted by Dieulafoy, as above, p. 297.

[3] Recent German explorations at Babylon have brought to light a colossal lion in enamelled bricks similar to those discovered by M. Dieulafoy at Susa.

But in the less difficult art of the jeweller, oriental sentiment probably showed a greater power of resistance, and maintained something of its independence to the last. For in the sphere of personal adornment the conservatism of the East has always been strong; and as we shall have occasion to point out, a time came when Persian jewellers ultimately imposed an oriental taste upon the European continent.

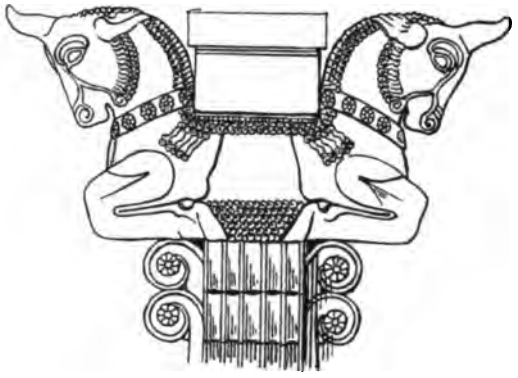


FIG. 14. Capital from Persepolis. (After Flandin and Coste.)

It was in decorative rather than in representative art that the essential strength and originality of Persia have always lain. It was in this sphere that under the Sassanian monarchy she exerted an influence far beyond her own frontiers (*see* p. 66); it was in this that after the Arab domination she became supreme, and produced work which in harmony of design and colour has been surpassed in no other country in the world. It is clear that in the Achaemenian period the products of the minor arts were exported in like manner to great distances, especially across the Caspian and Black Seas into the region where the Greek colonists and the Scythians dwelled side by side about the Crimea. In this region Persian cylinders and gems have been found with comparative frequency[1]; and many examples of goldsmith's work are either, like the Chertomlyk dagger-hilt (fig. 12), to be actually ascribed to Persian artificers, or else betray the influence of the Persian conventional style. The museum of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg contains several objects of this kind in addition to those enumerated, and special mention may be made of ends of collars or armlets terminating in rams' heads, the necks of which are inlaid with turquoises set in gold cells, in just the same style as no. 133 (plate xix). The fine gold collar found in Siberia, represented in fig. 18, offers enough points of analogy with the armilla no. 116 to prove that the art which both illustrate must have extended right up to the northern frontiers of the empire, and in all likelihood even beyond them. The lion-gryphon (no. 23, fig. 50), which is also Persian in its derivation but affected by Scythic influences, is an additional proof that Persian art was very popular in the north; and the occurrence of objects either actually Persian or with strong Persian affinities both in Siberia and in South Russia, makes it probable that the stream of nomadic tribes, always moving towards the west, bore with it many examples of Iranian minor arts, which it caught up north of Bactria or Sogdiana at the eastern extremity of the Steppes and carried past the Caspian to the shores of the Black Sea. There is much to be said for the conjecture that the Scythian tribes, which had been in the habit of looking to Persia

[1] *Compte rendu*, 1874, p. 219; 1881, Atlas, pl. v, figs. 6–9; 1888, Atlas, pl. v, fig. 3. *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, pl. xvi, figs. 2 and 5.

for many ornaments and motives while they were still upon her north-eastern frontier, continued to do the same thing when they had moved westward within the radius of Hellenic culture[1]. The occasional resemblances between Graeco-Scythian goldsmith's work from South Russia and objects in the Oxus Treasure may possibly be brought into connexion with these Persian exportations into Europe, for the Oxus examples might be regarded as equivalents imported in exchange. But perhaps it is more reasonable to explain the analogy by supposing that one Ionian Greek art leavened not only the Euxine region but the whole of Hither Asia from the Mediterranean littoral to the Pamir, and that as it almost everywhere influenced either Persians or nomads whose art was impregnated with Persian elements, the occurrence of similar objects in Kertch and in Eastern Iran is not such an anomaly as it might at first sight appear.

Inlaid Jewellery.

The Persian objects of the Oxus Treasure throw light upon one of the disputed questions of archaeology, the origin of the fashion of inlaying jewellery with coloured

FIG. 15. Ivory ornament inlaid with lapis lazuli, discovered at Nimrûd and now in the British Museum. (From *Archaeologia*, vol. lviii, p. 246.)

stones cut in slices and fixed like a mosaic either in continuous cells formed of thin applied strips of gold, or between narrow partitions reserved in the metal

[1] Kondakoff, p. 125. Cf. also Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, vol. iii, p. 116.

Jewellery thus ornamented, and called by French writers *orfèvrerie cloisonnée*, spread over the whole of Europe at the time when the great migrations of peoples overwhelmed the Roman Empire in the west. The style of all these jewels, which are chiefly brooches, buckles, ear-rings, and sword-hilts, is very distinctive, and can be traced from the south of Russia to the British Isles, one country and tribe handing it on to the next without any breach of continuity, so that the Jutes and Saxons of England and the Goths of the Crimea are found buried with ornaments in an identical style. It was long believed that the Goths, as the tribe situated at the extreme east of the chain, were the actual inventors of the fashion; but the researches of M. Charles de Linas[1] and others made it clear that although they undoubtedly transmitted the art to Western Europe, they did not themselves originate it, and that the true source must be sought on the Asiatic side of the Caucasus. In order to explain the bearing of the Oxus Treasure upon a method of ornamentation once in such high favour with our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, it will be well to give in a short summary the salient facts connected with this fashion as far as they have hitherto been investigated.

The essential characteristic of such jewellery is that it appeals to the eye by contrast of colour on plane surfaces, rather than by relief or by variety of form: in other words, its principle is coloristic rather than plastic. As such, it was not acceptable to Greek goldsmiths of the best period, for in order to produce its full effect it required rather large surfaces, which would doubtless have seemed too barbaric and ostentatious for Hellenic taste. Even in Hellenistic and Roman times it made little way, and it was not until the degradation of taste which set in with the third and fourth centuries that it obtained a firm foot-hold in the Roman Empire[2]. But although in the period of classical art it seems to have been either extinct or in abeyance, there had been a time when it found some favour in the islands of the Aegean and in continental Greece. The Mycenaeans were so skilled in the inlaying of different coloured metals that it would have been indeed surprising had they not perceived the possibility of this particular alliance between gold and gems; and the jewels of the treasure of Aegina in the British Museum, inlaid with blue pastes, illustrate the adoption of the fashion before the rise of Hellenic art[3]. The classic country of inlaid jewellery is of course dynastic Egypt, where the magnificent pectorals of the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties are familiar

[1] *Origines de l'orfèvrerie cloisonnée*, Paris, 1877, &c. *See* also the references in *Archaeologia*, vol. lviii, p. 239.

[2] A. Riegl, *Die spätrömische Kunstindustrie nach den Funden in Oesterreich-Ungarn* (Vienna, 1901), pp. 202 ff.

[3] De Linas, *Origines*, vol. iii, ch. 2, pl. C. The adoption of the coloristic principle in the Aegean at an early date is also illustrated by a most remarkable gold sceptre-head (?) terminating in a globe surmounted by two birds, found in 1904 at Episkopi (Curium) in Cyprus. Both the sphere and the birds are ornamented with fine imbricated cells containing what appears to be true enamel in several colours. The object is of extreme interest as an instance of cloisonné enamel of the finest kind at a period anterior to the sixth century B.C.; but apart from this it is an additional proof of the popularity of the coloristic principle in the Aegean before the period of Greek supremacy.

to all archaeologists[1]. From Babylonia there seems to be no tangible proof of the existence of the fashion, except perhaps a broad gold finger-ring exhibited among the Chaldaean antiquities in the Louvre. It is inlaid with lapis lazuli and cornelian in applied cells: round the sides is a broad band of quatrefoils in carnelian on a background of lapis, and round the edges are narrow bands of imbricated design in the same stones. But the principle of enhancing a decorative effect by inlays of varying colour was undoubtedly familiar to Chaldaean workmen, as is sufficiently established by the objects illustrated in figs. 16 and 17, the originals of which are also in the Louvre. M. Heuzey has described these and other examples of inlaid Chaldaean sculpture[2], and shown that incrustation of ivory, or pearl-shell and

FIG. 16. Stone androcephalous bull from Chaldaea inlaid with white shell or ivory. (After Heuzey, *Monuments Piot*, vol. viii, 1900, pl. 1.)

coloured gems, in sculptured figures of steatite and other stone, was largely practised in ancient Mesopotamia: it may therefore be fairly conjectured that, whatever the date of the ring may be, the incrustation of gold jewels must have become known at an early period. In Assyria the evidence with regard to actual gold jewels is only literary or conjectural[3], but the gilded inlaid ivories of Nimrûd (fig. 15) are clearly of the same family, while the working of similar ideas in another medium may perhaps be traced in the glazed bricks of Khorsabad (De Linas, *Origines*, pl. iii, ter), as at a later period in the Persian bricks of Susa. The armilla no. 116 and

[1] *See* more especially the jewels of Dahshur: J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahshour* (Vienna, 1905). On Egyptian inlaid jewellery *see* M. Rosenberg, *Aegyptische Einlage in Gold und Silber*, Frankfurt, 1905.

[2] *Strena Helbigiana* (Festschrift in honour of W. Helbig, Leipzig, 1899), p. 132; *Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et mémoires* &c., vol. vii (1900), pp. 7 ff.

[3] De Linas, as above, vol. i. c. iii.

the collars or armlets nos. 117, &c. of the present treasure, with the jewels from Susa in the Louvre (p. 110 and figs. 1 and 69), prove that the fashion was continued in Achaemenian times; and it may be conjectured that Susa, the principal capital, may have been the point at which the industry of an earlier civilisation was adopted by the Persian Empire. Returning for a moment to Europe, we may notice that certain ivory sword-hilts, inlaid with amber, from ancient Italy and from Hallstatt in the Salzkammergut[1], were perhaps due to an influence from the south-eastern Mediterranean, similar to that which inspired the ivory panels of Nimrûd; and although inlaying did not find great favour in Europe during the Celtic period which succeeded that of Hallstatt, we seem to meet with isolated instances of its application. It was when, under the influence of the Orient, the taste of the Roman world underwent a change, and effects of contrasted colour began to be appreciated more highly than beauty of form, that the way was made smooth for a modification of style and the Persian fashion was introduced into the empire either directly by way of Syria, or indirectly through the country of the Goths or the Greek settlers on the north shores of the Black Sea. The treasures of Petrossa[2] and Nagy Szent Miklos[3], the former of which cannot be later than A. D. 380, have both marked Persian affinities, and are probably but isolated survivals of an influence which set strongly from east to west in the first centuries of our era. The new style made rapid way on the frontiers of the empire, as may be gathered from the gold borders of imperial medallions from Petrianecsz and Szilágy Somlyó[4], and it was not long before it was firmly established among the Franks of Gaul, the Visigoths of Spain and the Anglo-Saxons of Britain. It must have found entrance into Constantinople almost from the first, for a reliquary from the wood of the true cross sent by the Emperor Justin II to St. Radegund and preserved ever since the sixth century in the abbey of Ste. Croix at Poitiers is decorated in this manner[5]; and Byzantine artists continued to view such work with favour even when it had been discarded

FIG. 17. Bronze figure with silver inlaid, from Chaldaea. (After Heuzey.)

[1] *Archaeologia*, as above, figs. 7 and 8, p. 248.

[2] A. Odobesco, *Le Trésor de Pétrossa*; R. H. Soden Smith, *Examples of Art Workmanship, The Treasure of Petrossa*, Arundel Society, 1869; Ch. de Linas, as above, vol. iii.

[3] J. Hampel, *Der Goldfund von Nagy-Szent-Miklos* (Budapest), 1885. This treasure is now commonly assigned to about the eighth or ninth century.

[4] Arneth, *Gold- und Silbermonumente* &c., pl. xi and viii, and G and N; Sacken-Kenner, *Sammlungen des k. k. Münz- und Antikencabinettes* (Vienna), 1866, pp. 342, 346; J. Hampel, *Der Goldfund von Nagy-Szent-Miklos*, pp. 160 ff.

[5] Barbier de Montault, *Le Trésor de l'abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Poitiers*, 1883; E. Molinier, *Histoire générale des arts appliqués à l'industrie*, vol. iv, *L'Orfèvrerie religieuse et civile*, pp. 38–41.

in countries further to the west, if we may judge from the inlaid border on a bookcover of the time of the Emperors Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Romanus II, now in Limburg on the Lahn[1]. The part which Persia played in its dissemination is directly proved by a gold girdle-plate, found in the year 1870 at Wolfsheim near Mayence[2], which has incised on the back the name of the first Sassanian king Ardeshir (d. A.D. 238). Until the discovery of the Oxus Treasure and the Achaemenian jewels from Susa it was possible, if difficult, to discount the evidence of the Wolfsheim girdle, and to maintain that the Romans, impelled by the change in their aesthetic needs, themselves invented the new style. But when we have authentic examples of inlaid Persian jewellery dating at any rate from the fourth century B.C., this position surely becomes untenable, and must be replaced by the theory that the Romans only welcomed a pre-existent foreign style, which had

FIG. 18. Gold collar inlaid with coloured stones, found in Siberia and now in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg. (After a photograph taken for Professor Marc Rosenberg.)

conquered classical taste and was now no longer repugnant to the cultivated European sentiment of the day.

That Persia is the country to which Europe was most indebted for this style of jewellery is indeed practically certain, but it is open to those who do not admit any connexion between the Oxus armilla and the Nimrûd ivories to maintain that she learned the art not from the South-West but from the North and East. The museum of the Hermitage in St. Petersburg contains a magnificent series of 'Scythic' gold antiquities[3], mostly inlaid with turquoises and other coloured stones, and found, in many cases as early as the time of Peter the Great, in South-west Siberia and Western Turkestan. In some cases, as in those mentioned above, the stones are set in fine cloisons like those on the wings of the gryphons on the

[1] E. Aus'm Weerth, *Das Siegeskreuz des byzantinischen Kaisers Konstantinus VII und Romanus* (Bonn, 1866).

[2] *Annalen des Vereins für nassauische Alterthumskunde* (Wiesbaden, 1873), pl. i, fig. 3; De Linas, as above, vol. i, p. 5, and pl. i; Molinier, as above, p. 15.

[3] On these antiquities and their history since their discovery, *see* Kondakoff, pp. 361 ff.; A. Odobesco, *Le Trésor de Pétrossa*, vol. i, pp. 230–232; Ch. de Linas, *Les Origines de l'orfèvrerie cloisonnée* (Paris, 1878), vol. ii, pp. 59 ff.; *Archaeologia*, lviii, pp. 252 ff., &c. A fully illustrated catalogue is now in preparation at St. Petersburg.

armilla; in others, they are embedded in the gold in less immediate proximity to each other, as upon the gryphons' flanks. Of these Siberian ornaments the most notable are penannular collars, armlets and flat plaques for the adornment of man and horse, the finest (e.g. fig. 18) executed in a style so near to that of the armilla that they cannot be very far removed from it in date. If it could be shown that before Achaemenian times Siberia might have received the art from Central or Eastern Asia, or even by a circuitous route from Europe itself, the history which has here been suggested would need revision, and the Egyptian descent of the Persian branch would either have to be denied altogether or deduced through a very different lineage. It might either be argued that Persian inlaid jewellery descends from Eastern Turkestan or China, in which case we should have to admit a second centre of invention quite independent of Egypt; or that Mycenaean inlaying was preserved in Asia with other survivals of a Mycenaean influence which penetrated the Steppes by way of the Crimea about a thousand years before our era[1]. On either theory Persia would be regarded as the pupil and not the teacher of Scythia. But the first of these two alternatives seems improbable because it is hardly likely that a style so characteristic and so similar in its developments, however far apart its different branches are found, should have come into existence in quite different parts of the world without any kind of interaction. Such an event might be possible; but in view of the general rarity of independent discoveries in the arts, and the astonishing distances covered by useful inventions or popular motives when once they are fairly started, it cannot be regarded as very probable. If, however, two centres of invention are rejected, and Eastern Turkestan or China is suggested as the home of the art, we should have to suppose that the invention took place about three thousand years before Christ; for the Dahshur inlaid jewels (*see* note 1, p. 26) date from about the middle of the third millennium B.C., and, *ex hypothesi*, they could only be descendants of Asiatic originals. Such a conclusion seems even more improbable than the other. As will shortly be shown (p. 41), we know hardly anything of the antiquities of China two thousand years before Christ; and to attribute without overwhelming evidence to remote China an art which can be more easily derived from a nearer western source, is surely to explain the obscure by the inscrutable, and to make too great a sacrifice to what has been aptly called *le mirage oriental*. If of the artistic influence of China in the third and fourth millennia before Christ we know but little, of Central Asia at the same period we know less; and though it is easy to describe the modern inlaid work of Yarkand and Khotan as the survival of an ancient and autochthonous industry, it is more logical to regard it as an early immigrant from those west Asiatic countries whose influence has never ceased to flow through the passes of the Ala Tau and the Pamir.

A better case might be made out for the other view, which would explain the inlaid jewellery of Central Asia as a survival of a Mycenaean influence entering South-Western Siberia from the shores of the Black Sea. But on this hypothesis, an art of which Mycenaean jewellers seem to have made but a restricted use, must have been developed to an unprecedented degree as soon as it penetrated into the dreary

[1] *See* S. Reinach, in *Revue archéologique*, 1901, p. 38.

steppes of the Asiatic continent. Such a development is perhaps possible in a land rich alike in gems and gold, and might be acceptable in the absence of any reasonable alternative. But it may be fairly argued that such an alternative does exist, and that inlaid jewellery followed the established roads of Asiatic intercourse before it entered the Steppes or crossed the Caspian Sea. The armilla and the jewels from Susa come from regions which must have enjoyed earlier opportunities than Scythia for learning the coloristic effect of massed gems in a plane surface of gold. Though the Nimrûd ivories have survived almost alone in Hither Asia, the taste which delighted in them has always been indigenous in the East, and it may be assumed that this taste never altogether died out in Mesopotamia, Babylonia and Susa. If Mycenaean influence

FIG. 19. Inlaid gold ornament from Siberia, now in St. Petersburg.
(After Kondakoff, p. 385.)

ever introduced inlaid jewellery into the northern coasts of the Black Sea, why is it that the Scythian tombs of Kertch and its neighbourhood have produced no *orfèvrerie cloisonnée* of an antiquity equal to that from Persia? Such inlaid ornaments as we know from this region are, like those of the treasure of Novotcherkask[1], of a distinctly later date, and come down to a time possibly even later than our era. But had the early Scythians from the first known the fascination of inlaid jewellery, they would no more have suffered it to be superseded by ornaments in the less gorgeous taste of the classical Greek period, than the African native would permit work of delicacy and refinement to displace the trinkets which his uneducated eye prefers. Uncultured peoples impose their taste in the matter of ornament upon the civilized merchant who supplies them, and the Pontic Scythians would hardly have allowed so popular a fashion to fall into desuetude at the very time when their more distant kinsmen of the interior were developing it in extraordinary luxuriance. The inference surely is, not that the tribes of Central Asia received and developed the art from the East of Europe, but rather that it came to them from the South out of Persia by way of the Persian satrapy of Bactria. On this supposition, the wealth of South-western Siberia and the poverty of South Russia in inlaid ornaments of early type becomes explicable; by the time the style had reached the Euxine it had undergone the modifications inseparable from a long series of migrations.

The Scythian and Persian claims to priority may be put to a more definite test by taking a single characteristic feature of inlaid jewellery and inquiring in which direction the course of its development appears to lead us. The three cavities on each flank of the gryphon on the Oxus armilla were once inlaid with stones, the central one circular,

[1] De Linas, as above, vol. ii, pp. 131 ff.; Kondakoff, pp. 488 ff.

and those on either side in the form of almonds or commas. This motive, which may for convenience be described as the 'point-and-comma' design, very probably began with a single 'comma' placed upon an animal's hind or fore-quarter as a means of giving salience to the muscular development, and may well have been an imitation of the bold conventional treatment of Assyrian sculpture. The Assyrian representation of the muscles above an animal's knee was transmitted to Persian art, and may be observed both in the gryphon of the armilla, and the ibexes of nos. 107–136; but a plain almond-shaped figure on both fore and hind-quarters naturally results from a reduction of the conventionalizing process to its simplest terms. In this form it appears at an early date in Ionian Greek art and its offshoots, sometimes of exaggerated size, and covering the whole space from shoulder to knee. The point which is associated with it may well be derived from the circles placed upon the flanks of animals to accentuate the natural curves, as in nos. 10, 18, 24, 116, 136. As long as the design remained plastic, it would more or less conform to the requirements of a crude interpretation of anatomy; but when it was transferred to jewellery in which emphasis is rendered rather by coloristic than by plastic methods, its true *raison d'être* would be forgotten. As taste degenerated, gems would be multiplied to increase the brilliance of effect, and the combination would now be applied to any vacant part of the body without regard to anatomical propriety; a second 'comma' would be added for the sake of symmetry, and the motive would degenerate into a meaningless ornament, which, were its real origin unknown, might easily be mistaken for the half of a quatrefoil rosette. Small variations in the shape of the comma are naturally to be expected in the course of a long evolution: thus the broader ends, originally rounded, are sometimes incurved to follow the outline of the circle, as in fig. 50, and the whole often receives the pear-shaped outline which is the chief justification for the use of the word 'comma.' It need hardly be pointed out that in decorative art the almond form may be reached as a result of quite other developments, one of which starts from the lotus-bud. Examples of this may be seen on Rhodian painted ware of the sixth century B. C., and on the silver dish from Armenia (no. 180), where the lobes are probably lotus-buds reversed. The 'comma' employed for its original anatomical purpose has survived in oriental art down to modern times; it is especially frequent in Sassanian and Byzantine textiles (cf. fig. 20), and occurs on oriental bronzes incrusted with silver inlays, which, in their effort after coloristic effect, offer a remarkable analogy to our inlaid jewels (fig. 5). A curious instance of the employment of the 'point-and-comma' motive, entirely divorced from its original intention, is found in the stucco designs of the mosque of Tulun[1] at Cairo (fig. 21) which date from the ninth century: it is also seen in pierced transennae in the cathedral of Ravenna, ascribed to the sixth century, and on the

FIG. 20. Gryphon from a Sassanian textile. (After Fischbach, *Die wichtigsten Webeornamente*.)

[1] It may be noted that the builder of the Mosque of Tulun came from Mesopotamia (*Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (Berlin, 1904), p. 346).

links of the chain from which the crown of the Visigothic king Svinthila is suspended[1]. So protracted an existence and so wide a distribution, especially within the borders of Hither Asia, is probably due to the fact that the design had there become so to speak endemic, too deeply branded upon the popular memory to pass out of current usage.

Some such theory of the genesis of this motive seems more probable than that which explains the 'point' and 'comma,' as the eye and beak of a Scythian bird of prey, with a second beak added to make the design bi-frontal[2]. The resemblance to the bird's eye and beak, as represented on barbaric ornaments, is incontestable; but as these appear to date from after the Christian era, and are thus in any case of too late a period to have influenced the details of such an object as the armilla, it seems more reasonable to infer that the bird's beak is derivative, and the anatomical motive primary. A development from south to north seems to be more in accordance with known facts, and to confirm the argument already maintained on grounds of general probability, that in the fashion of inlaying jewellery Persia was the teacher, and Scythia the learner.

FIG. 21. Design in stucco from the Mosque of Tulun, Cairo. (After Owen Jones, *Grammar of Ornament*.)

The foregoing paragraphs, though they contest certain theories as to the home of inlaid jewellery, have assumed throughout that its birthplace was in some region beyond the direct control of European civilisation. There is, however, another view which attributes its origin to the late-Roman Empire, and is, therefore, compelled to dispute its existence in Persia before Sassanian times. This view is an integral part of a general theory of aesthetic development in late Roman times[3], to which the appearance of an Achaemenian example must necessarily appear abnormal; and the only way in which the difficulty can be surmounted is to claim the armilla as a work not of Achaemenian but of Sassanian art. It is true that the gryphon was a favourite motive under the later Persian Monarchy, but it did not then so exactly preserve the archaic form and the eagle's legs, appearing rather as it is seen in no. 188 (pl. xxv) and in fig. 20. Moreover, the wings upon the armilla have the curve of the archaic period, and not the more pointed form of later times. But the most convincing argument is supplied by the inlaid jewellery from Susa, already alluded to on more than one occasion (pp. 5 and 110, and figs. 1 and 69), the Achaemenian origin of which is beyond dispute. Professor Riegl's lucid discussion of the progress of inlaying in the Roman provinces is a most important contribution to the literature of *orfèvrerie cloisonnée*; but his theory that this kind of work originated in the Empire does not seem to rest upon a sure foundation. To those who have never been concerned with European antiquities of the period between the great migrations of peoples in the fifth century and the Carlovingian Renaissance, the above discussion

[1] Riegl, *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie*, p. 204. Professor Riegl derives the motive from the technique of sculpture in marble, and in cases like the last three mentioned above, which are not obviously connected with animal forms, such an alternative derivation is quite possible.

[2] M. Salomon Reinach, in *Revue archéologique*, 1901, p. 34.

[3] Set forth at length in Professor Riegl's work mentioned above.

of the history and development of inlaid jewellery may appear disproportionately long. But as this is a point which bears upon the whole question of Oriental influence in barbaric Europe, it has an interest which transcends its apparent limitations; and if it draws any attention to the pedigree of an important class of our national antiquities, it will have served a useful purpose. One of the most intricate problems which at present confront the student is the extent to which Asia

FIG. 22. Gold sheath found at Vettersfelde in Prussia (*see* note to no. 22).
(After Furtwängler, *Der Goldfund von Vettersfelde.*)

influenced the conventional zoomorphic art of northern Europe at the beginning of the Dark Ages. A study of Graeco-Scythian and Scythian art will tend to prove that such influence may have been considerable; for as designs have greater mobility than the peoples which use them, forms and motives will be found to range beyond the boundaries of their proper continents and to insinuate themselves among the most diverse races of mankind. In the investigation of such obscure wanderings the course pursued by inlaid jewellery appears as a conspicuous guiding-thread.

Greek Influence.

Of direct Greek influence, as distinct from that exerted mediately through Persian art, there is little trace in the Oxus Treasure. It has been mentioned that there

were Athenian tetradrachms among the coins; and the intaglio gem no. 113 is Greek. Other objects, such as the rings nos. 101 and 102 and the silver patera no. 19, are, in form at least, removed by but few degrees from the Greek originals which they copied. Such scanty results as these do not point to any local development of Hellenic art in the Oxus region as early as the fourth century B.C. It is true that Greeks had been settled in Bactria even before that date, but it may be questioned whether there were among them goldsmiths or gem-engravers of skill and experience. Down to Alexander's time, Bactria seems to have been known in the Greek world as a place of confinement for the prisoners of Persia, and as early as the Ionian revolt we hear of it in this connexion. The Persian generals, growing uneasy at the size of the

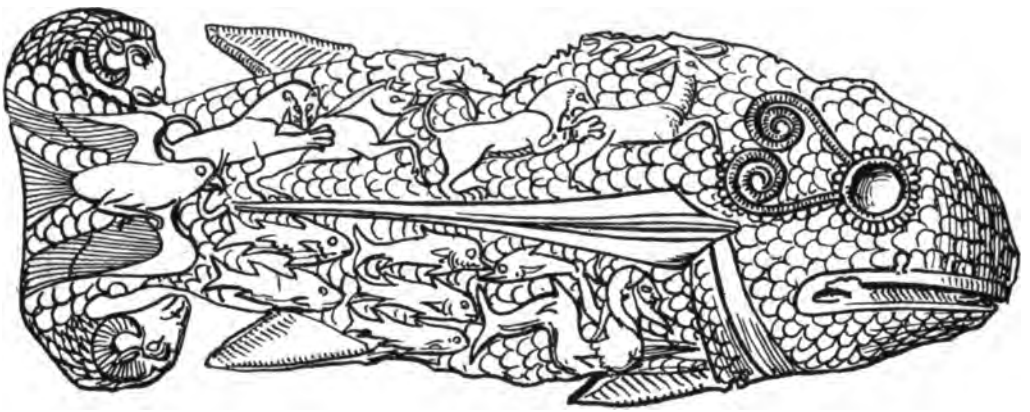


FIG. 23. Gold fish from Vettersfelde. (After Furtwängler.)

Greek fleet assembling off Miletus, summoned the Ionian tyrants in their train, and ordered them to attempt the detachment of their countrymen from the national cause by depicting the calamities which would overtake them should they persist in their opposition to the will of the Great King. Among other threats which were to be held over their heads was this, that their daughters should be carried away captive to Baktra [1], and the specific mention of this particular city suggests that, as situated in the most remote part of the Persian dominions, it was already a name of evil omen to Hellenes, with associations perhaps not unlike those of St. Helena or Botany Bay. The compulsory settlements of Greeks in Persia, of which we occasionally hear [2], usually died out rapidly or lost their Greek character, especially when Greek women did not accompany the men into exile. Nothing was heard again of the Barcaeans whom Darius established in Bactria [3], and the community of the Branchidae settled by Xerxes in Sogdiana, which consisted of both men and women, had become bi-lingual in about six generations [4]. The evidence for any persistent Greek influence

[1] Herodotus, vi. 9.

[2] Ibid., 119. Eretrians settled by Darius at Ardericca near Susa.

[3] Tarn, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xxii, p. 269.

[4] Quintus Curtius, vii. 5. 28–35. It will be remembered that Alexander found this Greek settlement still in existence and that, yielding to the vindictive feelings of the Milesians in his army, he

on local art and culture in the Oxus region is astonishingly scanty, even for the later period of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom. Although Balkh and the site of Eukratideia still await excavation, it is singular that no Greek inscription should yet have come to light, and that sculpture which can be shown to be as early as the third century B.C. should apparently be conspicuous by its absence. The admirable coinage of the Graeco-Bactrian kings at present stands quite alone, and any other work that the Greeks may have done has really to be assumed from the numismatic evidence, or from the statements about the existence of a Hellenic art in the East, which Strabo derived from Apollodorus of Artemita. The coins, as Prof. Mahaffy has remarked[1], need not prove any widespread Hellenism, for the Parthians had their currency struck for them in the isolated Greek cities of their dominions, and the genius of a single family of artists might almost account for all the fine coins of Bactria. The Greek colonists must at all times have formed a very small proportion of the population, and as they were continually engaged in wars and revolutions, they probably had little more time for the encouragement of art than the first colonists of the New World, or any other pioneer society[2]: they did not even produce a historian to chronicle the conquests of their kings, and in all probability were more skilled in handling the sword than either the brush, the chisel or the pen. After a few generations of incessant struggle, they found it more and more difficult to maintain their Hellenism against the influences of their environment, and their last state has often been compared to that of their compatriots settled in the Crimea, as described by Dio Chrysostom[3]. Only excavation can show whether this is the correct view of Graeco-Bactrian culture, or whether Count Goblet d'Alviella was nearer the truth when he argued that so remarkable a coinage could not have existed without work of similar excellence in other branches of art. If then a permanent Hellenic influence cannot be proved for the centuries when the Greeks were politically paramount, it is far more difficult to establish for the time when they were merely prisoners and aliens in the land. It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the purely Greek objects of the treasure probably filtered through Persia from the Ionian cities of Asia Minor, as numbers of portable works of art must have done in Achaemenian times.

Scythic Influence.

It is now necessary to turn from west to north, and point out such traces of Scythian influence as the previous discussion of inlaid jewellery has failed to bring into prominence. The part played by the Steppe zone, with its unceasing movement of nomadic life, as a conductor of the cultures to the south of it, should be constantly borne in mind by the student of what may perhaps not unfitly be

destroyed their town and put them to the edge of the sword. Their ancestors had assisted Xerxes to plunder a temple and had thus incurred the undying hatred of their countrymen.

[1] *The Greek World under Roman Sway*, p. 24.

[2] This point has been brought out by Mr. Tarn as above, p. 292.

[3] J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii, p. 357 (London, 1889); Mahaffy, as above, pp. 87 ff.

described as Eurasian antiquities. For it must never be forgotten that in the north the Steppes were just as much a link between two continents as the Mediterranean was in the south. In this great zone, bare of all material obstacles to communication, a new ornament, provided only that it was congruous with nomadic taste and sentiment, might overpass every tribal frontier through a whole sequence of conterminous peoples, 'bruited up from tribe to tribe' as surely, if not as swiftly, as news circulates in the East; and a motive which entered the Steppes by way of Bactria and Sogdiana, would travel by the same obscure agencies of diffusion as those which in a later century carried far and wide through the Tartar hordes the tidings of Sohrab's death upon the banks of the Oxus. Designs thus picked up in midcourse by the human stream were blended with those which had come all the way from its mountain sources, and both were carried on together into the wide plains of Southern Russia. This continual process of transportation helps us to understand the otherwise almost inexplicable appearance of migratory types at enormous distances from their point of departure; for with the steady westward drifting of the tribes out of Inner Asia from the dawn of history to the Middle Ages [1], particular fashions and styles of ornament were acquired and deposited along the line of route, until, to the sameness of existence which a monotonous environment imposes, there was added a similar uniformity of artistic types. It is thus that, as early as the interval between the fifth and third centuries B.C., we find without surprise that the art of the country behind the Greek colonies on the north coast of the Euxine is clearly related to that of the Bronze Age in the districts of Minusinsk and Krasnoiarsk in remote Siberia [2]. Among the well-known tumuli of South Russia in which such objects have been discovered, may be specially mentioned those of Chertomlyk and Alexandropol in the district of Ekaterinoslav on the Dnieper, which have been assigned to the third century B.C., but contain objects at least a hundred years older (cf. fig. 12), and one of the barrows known as the 'Seven Brothers' in the district of Temriuk on the Kuban, which is dated two centuries earlier [3]. In these tombs have been found, for example, plaques representing a couchant reindeer with its head turned back, an attitude characteristic of the earlier Siberian art, and bronze cauldrons with figures of animals round the rim almost identical with others found at Minusinsk. It might perhaps be argued that the focus of this art was not in Asia but in Europe, and that it travelled in an easterly direction as far as the

FIG. 24. Bronze plaque from tumulus in the Kuban district, South Russia, (From *Compte rendu*, 1879, p. 136.)

[1] Peoples of Mongolo-Turki or Finno-Turki stock, *see* p. 14.

[2] On the antiquities of the Siberian Bronze Age, *see* J. R. Aspelin, *Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien*; W. Radloff, *Aus Siberien* (Leipzig, 1884); F. R. Martin, *L'Âge du Bronze du Musée de Minoussinsk* (Stockholm, 1893); Klements, *Antiquities of the Minusinsk Museum* (Tomsk, 1886); Kondakoff, pp. 364 ff.

[3] The objects from these sites may be conveniently studied in Kondakoff, who gives a very useful index and furnishes references to the original Russian publications.

Yenisei; but any such hypothesis is weakened by three considerations: firstly, that the bulk of the earliest antiquities has been found at or near Minusinsk, most of them belonging to a period at which iron does not seem to have been known; secondly, that influences from the same region were exerted upon the art of the European bronze age as far west as Hungary[1]; thirdly, that the general trend of migration has throughout history been towards, not from, the west; and that though there may have been occasional movements against the stream, the prevailing tendency must have been to follow the line of least resistance. The conclusion to be drawn from these facts would appear to be that the tribes which were continually drifting from the Altai mountains to the Don carried an artistic style with them from the East[2], and that they belonged not to the Caucasic but to the Mongolo-Turki stock. In the paragraphs dealing with the population of Bactria and the adjoining countries, it was pointed out how vitally geographical conditions affected racial problems in this region. But the conditions which affected the eastern extremity of the Steppes were equally operative in the West, and there also they produced their inevitable effect upon Scythic art. For the monotony of nomadic life and the constant succession of fresh Turanian tribes impressed a homogeneous stamp upon art from one end of the treeless zone to the other. Such a uniform canon of taste we seem to recognize in the Scythic-Siberian style, which maintained one unmistakable character from the Yenisei to the Carpathians. Let this central fact once be established, and the solution of the Scythian riddle may be safely left to the professed ethnologist[3]. For it matters little to the student of development in form and design to what family particular groups of Scythians belonged, so

FIG. 25. Bronze plaque from the Kuban district, S. Russia; a lion. (From *Compte rendu*, 1880, p. 13.)

[1] J. Hampel, *Ethnologische Mittheilungen aus Ungarn*, vol. iv (Buda-Pesth, 1895), pp. 1–2.

[2] It is still unknown to what race the *originators* of this art belonged: further research may connect the Finnish element more intimately with its origin. The point here insisted on is that its chief *carriers* must have been Mongolo-Turki (Ural-Altaic) tribes. On the early inhabitants of Siberia: Radloff, as above, vol. ii, pp. 129 ff.; Kondakoff, pp. 323 ff.

[3] If we believe that in the fifth century B.C. the Mongolo-Turki and Caucasic elements were still in process of fusion at many points in the south of Russia and to the north of the Iranian plateau, the statement of Herodotus as to the multitude of dialects and physical types east of the Don becomes perfectly intelligible. There were doubtless both beardless and hirsute Scythians in proportion as the Mongolian element was strong or weak; and the ample hair and beards of the Russian tribes, as illustrated by the figures on the Greek silver vases of Kul-Oba and Chertomlyk, are perhaps only characteristic of a people in which the Caucasic blood predominated. Various isolated facts seem to show how strong the Ural-Altaic element generally was. Herodotus notes as an exceptional point that the Budini had fair hair and blue eyes, as if to imply that the average Scythian was melanochrous (W. Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece*, vol. i, p. 401). The custom of elevating dead horses on posts above the tombs of Scythian chiefs, of which Herodotus also gives a curious account (iv. c. 72), seems to have had a striking parallel among the Tunguses in comparatively modern times (N. Witsen, *Noord en Ost Tartarye* (Amsterdam, 1795, p. 81). Further, the well-known Scythian custom of worshipping a sword was practised in later times by the Huns and Alans, tribes whose Turki origin is certain. On the whole question *see* G. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. iii, pp. 187 ff.

long as it is accepted as certain that the characteristic art which is common to them all was imported from the central part of Asia beyond the range of the Iranian peoples. The firm hold which this art had obtained in the south-eastern corner of Europe is manifested in nothing so much as in its successful resistance to Hellenic influences. Its reassertion of its old supremacy, as the power of the Greek colonies began to decay, gave evidence of a vitality equal to that of Celtic art in later centuries, when the fall of the Roman Empire in the West witnessed a revival of the Celtic spirit in Gaul and Britain. Thus on the arrival of the Goths in the neighbourhood of the Crimea it was still flourishing, and some of its characteristic features were readily adopted by the new-comers. These were transmitted to other Teutonic tribes at the time of the 'Great Migrations'; and so it came about that designs perhaps first conceived on the banks of the Yenisei were ultimately used to decorate the brooches and buckles of Lombard, Frank and Anglo-Saxon. The invading Asian art, which in the Bronze Age had only just succeeded in crossing the Carpathians, was now carried on a resistless tide to the western extremity of Europe[1].

FIG. 26. Monster from the 'Melgunoff' sheath (*see* p. 55). From an electrotype.

Scythian art was from first to last based upon the decorative adaptation of animal forms, and delighted in the schematic conventional treatment so universally favoured in the East. Sometimes in the attitude of an animal, or in the execution of its limbs, we seem to trace the influence of a fancy akin to that of the Celts; at other times there is a tendency to that utter degradation of forms which the Teutonic tribes of the Dark Ages carried to the point of caricature; but always there is the impress of a very definite character and individuality. This remains true even when this art was in its most imitative phase. For though it was so tenacious of its own style, it assimilated from other culture-areas any motives or methods congenial to its taste, and it has been supposed that these may have come to it not only from Mesopotamia but even from the shores of the Mediterranean. Some have fancied, as already noticed, that they can trace in Siberian objects a Mycenaean influence exerted from the north shores of the Black Sea[2], citing among other evidence of the connexion the distorted attitude of certain animals with hind-legs flung round above the back so as to touch the head, and the 'flying gallop' in which all four feet of the horse are off the ground at the same moment. Speculations of this nature are always attractive, but if the mere mannerisms of Mycenaean art ranged so far, it might have been expected that prominent features like the spiral would have made the journey with them: this motive proved very acceptable to the primitive inhabitants of Europe; but if it ever traversed the Steppes, it disappeared without leaving any trace of its passage. In a similar manner, the palmette, which in later centuries inspired the Celts to the creation of a marvellous scheme of ornament, in Scythia

[1] M. Odobesco, *Le Trésor de Pétrossa*, p. 508, also arrives at the conclusion that the Turanian peoples transmitted artistic forms to Europe.

[2] S. Reinach, *Revue archéologique*, 1900, pp. 248–254; 1901, pp. 38–40.

did not extend far beyond the radius of the Greek settlements. This may have been due to the fact that the Scythians were so wedded to the use of animal forms that they were blind to the possibilities of floral ornament: on the other hand it may be one indication that the Greek art of the Crimea produced little effect east of the Caucasus. In favour of the supporters of European influences it may be admitted that such objects as the buckle-shaped ornament (fig. 19) seem to exhibit an affinity with the products of late-Roman industrial art[1], and that therefore a similar western influence in the Greek period is perfectly possible. There seems to be less room for doubt with regard to the influence of Hither Asia; some believe that in the ornamentation of the Bronze-Age weapons and implements of Minusinsk remote traces of Assyrian motives may be discerned[2]. Be that as it may, a less disputable effect of Mesopotamian inspiration is to be found in the appearance of the winged gryphon; for the pedigree of this monster is known with some certainty, and like the fashion of making inlaid jewellery, it probably came into Siberia by way of Persia. The lion-gryphon (no. 23) is peculiarly adapted to illustrate at once the original and the imitative qualities of Scythian art. The monster itself is a Perso-Mesopotamian type unknown among the earliest antiquities of Siberia; but the way in which the extremities of the legs are doubled up beneath the body reveals the barbaric hand, and recalls the bronze plaques from the tumuli of the Seven Brothers (Kuban District) Kul-Oba (Kertch) and Akmetchet (Crimea), in which the Scythian element is exceptionally strong (*see* figs. 24 and 25). The other objects in the collection which seem to bear the impress of the Scythic style are the disc no. 26 (pl. xi), in which the termination of the wing in a lion's head seems to be a barbaric touch; the small gold plaque no. 39 (pl. xii), and the armlets nos. 144 and 145 (pl. xx). It is explained below (p. 55) that the form of dagger-sheath illustrated by no. 22 (pl. viii), no. 48 (pl. xiii) and no. 70 (pl. xiv) may also be of Scythian origin.

Before the subject of this barbaric art is dismissed, it may be pointed out that the dating of Scythic antiquities, unless found in association with Greek or Roman objects of a known period, is extremely uncertain. Sometimes even the tumuli seem to give confused evidence, as in the case of the kurgans at the farm called Zuboff in the Kuban district, excavated in 1899[3]. Here hemispherical gold buttons with animals of Scythic type were found with belt-ornaments set with Roman millefiori glass, and a Greek silver dish of the fifth or early fourth century B.C. The inference is that the latest object defines the date; these Scythic ornaments would therefore be approximately of the same age as the Novotcherkask treasure (*see* p. 30), and rather earlier than fig. 19. In the case of the objects found in Siberia, as to the exact

[1] Cf. the ornament fig. 19 with the ornament of a sheath from Nydam Moor (Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, vol. iv (1900), pl. 71). Coins of the early Roman Empire are said to have been obtained in Siberia in the eighteenth century, and may have been dug up there. In the same century two gold figures, one representing the type of a sphinx, the other that of a siren, were found in the same country (Witsen, *Noord en Ost Tartarye*, ii, p. 749).

[2] The arrangement of animals' heads back to back on the guards of daggers is one of the features on which this conjecture has been based.

[3] *Izviestia (Bulletin) of the Imperial Archaeological Commission*, 1901, pp. 94 ff.

provenance of which there is no precise information, the difficulty is even greater. Such work as that of fig. 18, which is not very inferior to that of the armilla no. 116, may perhaps go back to a similar date; and no. 23 is very like the lion-gryphons of the fourth century (*see* p. 86). The goldsmith's work of the Steppes must thus have extended over a period of at least six or seven centuries, and until accurate and exhaustive typological comparisons have been made, the classification of particular specimens can only be approximate[1]. It is to be regretted that the information supplied by Greek writers is so meagre. They mention the splendid gold trappings of the Massagetae and the Aorsi, but they do not describe the peculiarities of the art with which they were decorated. The Greek was even more apt to under-estimate the artistic capacity of the barbarians than to exaggerate their moral qualities. From Homer's time down to quite a late period, there was a tradition in Greece that the Scythians were the most just and blameless of mankind[2]. The writers who perpetuated it were perhaps influenced by the same motive which in the eighteenth century induced Rousseau and Diderot to ascribe imaginary virtues to the islanders of the South Seas. Wishing to find an effective contrast to the vices of the society in which they lived, they sought it beyond the periphery of civilisation, where fancy might venture with less fear of contradiction to usurp the place of knowledge. We owe the Greek historians a debt of gratitude for having recorded so much that is of value with regard to the life and manners of the Scythian, but the obligation would have been yet greater had they thought less of his theoretical justice and more of the concrete embodiment of his art.

FIG. 27. Lion-gryphon from the vase of Xenophantus. (From *Compte rendu*, 1867, *Atlas*, pl. iv.)

China.

It will be seen that, as compared with that of Achaemenian Persia, Scythian art is poorly represented among the objects with which we have to deal. But the fact that it is represented at all, suggests the inquiry whether there are any signs of the influence of China, a country to the confines of which the earliest Siberian art almost extended. The question has but to be put to be answered in the negative: there is no trace of Chinese influence in the Oxus Treasure; and apart from general geographical possibilities there is no particular reason why it should be expected. For the objects here illustrated are older than the time of the Han dynasty (B. C. 206–A. D. 220), and the extent to which Chinese art may have affected that of

[1] Mr. E. H. Minns, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, will shortly publish an important work on Scythic and Graeco-Scythic Antiquities, in which light will doubtless be thrown on much that is now perplexing, and much material now in the various Russian publications will be for the first time placed within easy reach of students.

[2] *Iliad* xiii. 5; Kondakoff, pp. 126–128.

Western Asia before that time has perhaps been unduly exaggerated. The early archaeology of the Middle Kingdom is a dark province, into the heart of which no explorer has yet penetrated; all that it has yielded for the purpose of scientific comparison is included within two classes; that of the scanty weapons and implements of an ill-defined Bronze Age, and that of the sacrificial bronze vessels and jade carvings ascribed by Chinese archaeologists to the Shang and Chou dynasties (1766–249 B. C.)[1]. It is still disputed whether the form and ornament of the Chinese Bronze Age are indigenous or derived from Siberia; while our principal information on the subject of the sacrificial bronzes is obtained from the statements of Chinese authors writing in mediaeval times. Many of these objects really belong to the Chou dynasty (B. C. 1122—249); a few are referred to the earlier Shang period[2] and the whole group is thus long anterior to the date (B. C. 115) when Graeco-Bactrian influences first penetrated to China, to be followed in the course of the first century of our era by others which came in with Buddhism. Moreover, some of them bear archaic inscriptions in which they are described as heirlooms, and are known to have been preserved for centuries in Imperial and private collections; the style is quite different from that of later times, being clearly more primitive and spontaneous. In any case, their art seems to have no relation to that of the West, for even such monsters as the dragons and the T'ao-t'ieh or ogres of gluttony, appear to have had no westward extension before the Christian Era. There is no Chinese monster which travelled so far or so early as the different varieties of the gryphon, which certainly came into Central Asia from Mesopotamia, and one of which, already several times mentioned, is to be seen in the gold ornament no. 23. The aloofness and presumed antiquity of Chinese civilisation have lent it a prestige which inclines the mind to accept almost all its claims without a critical examination[3], but the fact that within the historical period China's loans from the art of other peoples have been, to say the least, as considerable as her contributions to it, should arouse a certain hesitation in ascribing to her a universal priority without good reason assigned. The exclusive attitude which China has maintained in recent centuries towards the West was not at all characteristic of earlier periods of her history. The bronze mirrors with a decoration of vine-scrolls, dating from the first few centuries after Christ, are now considered to have been first introduced from the Bactrian region. The same country may also have influenced the curious sculptured reliefs of Shantung, which have been recently published by Professor Chavannes[4]. Under the vigorous Han dynasty, China was eager to communicate with the Roman

[1] F. Hirth, *Über fremde Einflüsse in der chinesischen Kunst*, p. 3. On pp. 4–7 of this work there is useful information as to the dates of the best-known Chinese archaeological treatises, such as the *K'au-ku-t'u* and *Po-ku-t'u*, which date from the 11th and 12th centuries. These books were illustrated and are therefore of considerable value for the study of the earliest Chinese art: the most comprehensive, the *Po-ku-t'u*, was issued in a new edition in the 18th century. The earlier, *Ting-lu*, goes back to the 6th century, but is not illustrated. On the relation between the Bronze Age culture of China and Siberia *see* P. Reinecke, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. xxix, p. 141.

[2] Dr. S. W. Bushell, *Chinese Art*, Publication of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1904, p. 79.

[3] See S. Reinach, *Revue archéologique*, 1901, p. 237.

[4] E. Chavannes, *La Sculpture sur pierre en Chine au temps des deux dynasties Han* (Paris), 1892.

world; yet when the silk trade was established on a great scale in the earlier centuries of our era, we find few positive traces of immigrant Chinese designs. Upon the textiles of the period where such an influence might naturally have been expected, Persian motives rapidly prevailed to such an extent that they invaded the Far East; there is, for example, a figured silk in the Tokyo museum, which has a purely Sassanian hunting scene, copied with a few alterations of detail by a Chinese artist at some time in the sixth or seventh century[1]. It was under the later Han dynasty that the practice of facing buildings with glazed tiles or bricks, so ancient in Western Asia, first appeared in China, and its revival in the fifth century is said to have been due to the importation of artists from the Indo-Scythian kingdom of the Yueh-chi[2]. In the seventh century a scion of the royal house of Khotan founded a new school of painting in China, so that the imperial country borrowed not only from strangers but from its own feudatory states[3]. If the inquiry is carried down to later periods we meet with similar results. The Chinese claim to the invention of gunpowder is stated to be unjustifiable, for they received it from the West about the end of the fourteenth century[4]. One of the most familiar of Chinese arts, that of cloisonné enamelling upon copper and gold, is also known to have been borrowed from Byzantine sources in the fourteenth century[5], and it was only with the exportation of her porcelain that China achieved a notable artistic victory in the West. Far from inclining towards a Chinese influence upon the early art of Persia, the evidence rather tends the other way; and no astonishment need therefore be felt at the absence of anything resembling a Chinese motive among the objects composing the Oxus Treasure.

India.

If in the consideration of artistic influences which have left their mark upon the Treasure China may thus be practically ignored, India, despite its close propinquity to Bactria, will be found to occupy a similar negative position. A few objects (nos. 4–6), which exhibit no near affinities to Persia, Greece, or Scythia, may indeed owe something of their peculiar character to an inspiration from Hindostan, yet they may equally well be the products of an indigenous Bactrian art in which Hindu influence is hardly more demonstrable than that of Persia. Like the allophyles of ethnology, they still await their final classification. In the age-long intercourse between Iran and its eastern neighbour, India has usually played the passive part, receiving and

[1] *Jahrbuch der königlich-preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. xxiv (1903), pp. 8-9.

[2] Bushell, *Chinese Art*, p. 61.

[3] M. A. Stein, *The Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, p. xvii.

[4] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chapter vii; H. W. L. Hime, *Gunpowder and Ammunition* (London, 1904).

[5] The Chinese name for the art of cloisonné enamelling is Fa-lan or Fa-lang, a corruption of Fo-lang or Fo-lin, the name of Byzantium in Chinese annals. The Ming Emperor Ching-tai (1450–1456 A. D.) is said to have taken it under his protection, and the mark of his reign is found upon ancient specimens. *See* Dr. S. W. Bushell, *Oriental Ceramic Art*, collection of W. T. Waters, Text edition (New York, 1899), p. 455.

assimilating the arts which have come across her western border. It is no doubt true that the luxury of the Indian courts in early times must have implied a corresponding artistic activity; but it is still denied that the princes who preceded Asoka knew how to build in stone, and the evidence for a Hindu style of sufficient reputation to have influenced Persia is not yet forthcoming. There was a time indeed, when, under the inspiration of a proselytizing Buddhism, Indian art penetrated into other lands. But this art of the six brilliant centuries at the beginning of our era, which gave us the sculptures of Gandhara and the frescoes of the Ajanta caves, rose with the expansion of the Buddhist faith and weakened with its decline. Its traces have been revealed by the excavations of Dr. Stein far away in the sand-buried ruins of Chinese Turkestan [1], and if similar excavations could be carried out in Balkh it would probably be found that the same influences had been operative in the region of the Oxus. But as in the age before Asoka first widened the scope of Buddhist ambition, so in the years following the decline of the faith, India was in no position to impose her art upon the peoples beyond her borders; and even during the time of her highest achievement she was still a borrower from the West. To the evidences of Persian influence in the topes of Bharhut Sanchi and Amaravati, and even perhaps in the caves of Ajanta [2], we must add others attesting that of the Graeco-Roman world, which are most conspicuous in the great missionary centre of Gandhara. If, even at the time of her greatest initiative, India continued to play a receptive part in her relations with the West, it is practically certain that she had no message to impart when the satrap of the Great King still controlled the defiles of the Bamian pass.

FIG. 28. Achaemenian cylinder. (After Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, pl. i.)

Subjects.

The artistic relationships of the Oxus Treasure having thus been rapidly passed in review, it is now necessary to discuss some of the more interesting points suggested by the subjects represented. And as some of these appear to be connected with Zoroastrianism, a few words on the outward aspects of that religion and on its special connexion with Bactria must be inserted by way of preface. It has already been noticed that, at the time of Alexander, Bactria was perhaps the most active centre of the Persian religion. Legendary as the biography of Zoroaster must largely be, all accounts agree in the statement that he passed several years of his prophetic career at Baktra (Balkh), and that his association with the province of Bactria was thus particularly close. As to the country of his birth there are two opinions: one that he was a native of Eastern Iran; the other, which is supported by Oriental tradition, that he came from the West, perhaps from Aderbaijan [3] south-west of the Caspian.

[1] M. Aurel Stein, *The Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan* (London, 1903).

[2] Vincent Smith, *The Early History of India*, p. 325. On foreign influences in India *see* A. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, ch. i.

[3] A. Hovelacque, *L'Avesta, Zoroastre et le Mazdéisme*, p. 140 (Paris, 1880).

In any case, the Zend Avesta is believed to have originated either in Bactria itself or in the neighbouring provinces [1], and the places mentioned in it are almost all in Eastern Iran [2]. Such facts are sufficient to show that Bactria was in a sense the holy land of Mazdeism in Achaemenian times. It maintained its reputation when the cult of new deities was introduced, and temples came into existence in addition to the simple structures originally erected round the sacred fire. In a country with such wide religious interests, the number of fire-altars and their attendant priests must have been very considerable. It is unnecessary to describe fire-worship in detail, for there is no representation of it upon any of the objects in the treasure; it must suffice to say that the flame was protected by a surrounding chamber from wind and rain [3]; that once kindled it was never permitted to go out, and that it burned upon a low columnar altar which sometimes had a crenelated top, a point of some interest in connexion with the head-dress of the silver statuette (no. 1). Animal sacrifice was a recognized usage, especially for purposes of purification; camels, horses, and oxen were offered by rich people for this purpose, and smaller animals such as hares by the poor. The sacrifice of horses to the sun, which undoubtedly took place in the fourth century, is not mentioned in the sacred books, and was probably not a primitive usage: the Massagetae, who are said to have made such sacrifices [4], may have adopted them as a result of intercourse with Persia. The gods of the Persians in process of time increased in number, as primitive simplicity was overlaid with extraneous superstitions, but mention need here be made of those only who may be represented in the Treasure. The most important deity is Ormuzd, or Ahura Mazda, whose ceaseless conflict with Ahriman, lord of the forces of evil, forms the ground idea of the Zoroastrian religion. He is held to be represented, as on the small gold disc (no. 35), by a half-figure issuing from a pair of wings—a motive which has been considered by Herder and others to represent the king's *feruer*, or immaterial and independent counterpart [5].

Another deity who may be represented is Anahita, called by the Greeks Anaïtis, and assimilated by them to the Artemis of the Ephesians [6]. Originally she seems to have presided over the fertilizing waters; and it has been inferred from an ancient description that she may have been more particularly the goddess of the river Oxus [7]. Her cult is stated to have been formally established in Persia by Artaxerxes Mnemon (B.C. 404–362), who caused altars and statues in her honour

[1] A. Hovelacque, as above, p. 131.

[2] F. Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, vol. ii, p. 171.

[3] Dieulafoy, *Suse*, pp. 393 ff. In these pages M. Dieulafoy has brought together much interesting information relating to the buildings and the utensils devoted to the worship of the sacred fire by the ancient Persians and the modern Parsis.

[4] Herodotus, i. 216.

[5] J. G. Rhode, *Die heilige Sage und das gesammte Religions-System der alten Baktrer, Meder, Perser* &c., pp. 485, 486 (Frankfort, 1820); Hovelacque, as above, p. 288; Spiegel, as above, ii. 92.

[6] Ed. Meyer, in W. H. Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1884–1886), article *Anaitis*, vol. i, cols. 330, 331; Herodotus (i. 131) and Berosus compare Anaïtis to Aphrodite.

[7] Meyer, as above, col. 330.

to be erected in the principal towns of the empire,—Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis, Sardes, Damascus (?) and Baktra. The inscriptions confirm the statement, for this king is the first to make mention of Mithras and Anahita by the side of Ahura Mazda. Her worship would seem to have become deeply imbued with Babylonian elements, approximating to that of the goddess Nana; and the description of her in the Avesta[1], as a beautiful young woman crowned with a diadem ornamented with a hundred stars, is of a stereotyped Babylonian character. She was adored in Asia Minor and Armenia, where a district on the upper Euphrates was called after her[2], but she never attained the popularity of Mithras in the Graeco-Roman world. We have references to her worship at Ecbatana in Plutarch (*Artaxerxes*, 27) and Polybius (x. 27, 12), and at Susa in Pliny (vi. 135); but Orientalists appear to differ as to the extent to which she can be identified with the Nana of Indo-Scythian coins, and with the Nanaia of Elymais and Babylonia. Further remarks on this goddess will be found (on p. 71), and in the note to no. 103. She is thought to be the subject of a cylinder in the de Clercq collection[3] (fig. 29), where she is seen seated on a throne, holding a flower in her hand, and receiving from a worshipper an offering in the form of a dove; and she may perhaps be represented on the chalcedony cylinder in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, where a goddess rising above a lion receives the adoration of a priest or king[4]. The connexion of Anaïtis both with Bactria and Armenia is of interest in connexion with more than one object in the present volume. For some of the gold plaques which may be of local manufacture, have subjects which could well be connected with her worship (no. 93), and the same is the case with the cylindrical silver box from Armenia (no. 179).

FIG. 29. Cylinder in the de Clercq collection: an offering to Anaïtis (?). (After J. Menant, *Glyptique orientale*, vol. ii, pl. ix, fig. 2.)

Though the Persian layman might address his prayer directly to the deity, yet for sacrifices and purifications he was obliged to have recourse to an intermediary belonging to the class or caste of the Magi or Athravans[5]. The word caste is perhaps an accurate description of this body of men, for apparently only the son of a magus could be a magus, and the priesthood was a hereditary order[6]. They have been compared with the tribe of Levites, and are thought to have originated somewhere in Western Iran, possibly in Media, whence they spread over all countries where Iranian influence predominated. Probably they formed a hierarchy ranging

[1] Yasht, v. 126, see Hovelacque, as above, p. 264.

[2] Meyer, as above, 332. References to Strabo, Dio Cassius, Pliny, and Procopius.

[3] Menant, *Glyptique orientale*, vol. ii, pl. ix, no. 2; Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*.

[4] *Compte rendu*, 1888, pl. v, fig. 3.

[5] 'It is probable that there is no real distinction between the Athravans and the Magi.'—Spiegel, as above, iii, p. 595.

[6] Hovelacque, p. 449.

from the chief priest[1] down to the acolyte; just as the modern Parsis, who have preserved so much of the ancient tradition, have their *Zaotar* or high-priest, their *desturs* or chief priests, their *mobeds* or officiating priests, and their *herbeds* who form the lowest grade. They were more or less nomadic, like the Mullahs of Islam at the present day, travelling from place to place as their services were required, but everywhere received with respect as claiming descent from Zarathustra, who was of the royal house. They acted as intermediaries between man and the deity, not only as celebrants of certain rites, but also as diviners and interpreters of dreams; and their social influence was doubtless increased by their additional functions as medical men and tutors of princes and noble youths. It is interesting to note that in spite of the triumphs of Islam, vestiges of the old Mazdeistic beliefs still seem to linger in this part of Asia. Khanikoff[2] observed among the Tajiks of Samarkand usages in connexion with fire which recalled those of Zoroastrianism, and Wood has recorded the reluctance of the people of Badakshan to blow out a light, probably due to the ancient belief that the breath of man is a defilement to the purest of the elements.

FIG. 30. Coin of Evagoras II of Salamis in Cyprus. (After Babelon, *Perses Achéménides*, pl. xvii.)

Of the particular attributes of the priest mentioned in the sacred books—such as the *hâvana* or mortar, the *paitidâna* or covering for the mouth, the *urvara* or staff, *krafçtraghana* or insect-killer, the *Altra mairi* or knife for killing snakes—perhaps the most remarkable is the *bareçman* or *barsom*, a small bundle of rods supposed to be composed of branches of the date, pomegranate, and tamarisk, the gathering of which Ormuzd describes to Zarathustra in the nineteenth chapter of the Vendidad[3]. It was the constant accompaniment of almost every ritual act, and in his daily prayers before the sacred fire, as Strabo noted of the Magi in Cappadocia, the priest always held it in his hand[4]. The texts do not seem to imply that the rods were used for purposes of divination, but there is some authority for believing that this was at one time the case. The habit of divining with rods would appear to be of Median or Scythian origin[5], and Herodotus (iv. 67) describes Scythian diviners as laying a bundle of willow wands on the ground, untying it, and consulting the rods individually. Perhaps the peculiar virtue of the *barsom* was derived from some ancient custom of this kind, and owing to their supposed supernatural qualities the

[1] Probably called *Zarathustrotema* and residing in Ragha or Media with sovereign power; Spiegel, iii. 562.

[2] *Mémoire sur l'ethnographie de la Perse* (Paris, 1866), Ch. de Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Hindou Kouch*, pp. 329 ff.

[3] Hovelacque, as above, p. 425; M. Dieulafoy, *Suse*, p. 393; *see* also note to no. 48.

[4] Ῥάβδων μυρικίνων λεπτῶν δέσμην κατέχοντες, Strabo, xv. 733; Rhode, as above, p. 509.

[5] Spiegel, as above, iii. 593, 571. The historian Dinon quoted by a scholiast to Nicander, says: Μάγοι δὲ καὶ Σκύθαι μυρικίνῳ μαντεύονται ξύλῳ, καὶ γὰρ ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις ῥάβδοις μαντεύονται (*Fragm. historic. Graec.*, vol. ii, p. 91, ed. Didot; G. Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. iii, Media, pp. 130, 131).

rods became a natural priestly attribute; perhaps, too, even after their adoption as ritual instruments, they continued to be used for their original purpose. Divination by means of rods would appear to have been practised in Mesopotamia as well as in the countries to the north-east, though here arrows were sometimes employed. Ezekiel seems to allude to this when he says that the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the ways to use divination: 'he shook the arrows to and fro, he consulted the teraphim, he looked in the liver[1].' The bundle of rods seems to be shown in the hands of the two statuettes nos. 1 and 2, the second of which may well represent a magus of high rank; a number of the figures upon the gold plaques (*see* plates xiii and xiv) also hold it, and attention may be called to the

a

b

c

FIG. 31.

a. Coin of Pharnabazus, N.W. Asia Minor, about B.C. 400.

b. Coin of Spithridates, satrap in Ionia. (Early 4th century.)

c. Coin of Mallus in Cilicia. (4th century.)

fact that the object held by the deity in the Sassanian rock sculpture, fig. 42, has some resemblance to a bundle of rods. It would be rash to affirm that the vessels held in the hand by several figures have any connexion with the *havan* used for the sacred *haoma*[2], nor is it certain that the birds and flowers which others hold are of the nature of offerings. We learn that in later times at least the chief celestial beings each had their colour represented by a flower: thus Ormuzd had red jasmin, and Bahman a white lily[3], but it may be remembered that on the monuments of Persepolis officers of the court and sometimes the king himself are represented as carrying a lotus-like blossom, or an ornament of the same form.

Costume and Ornaments.

The mention of priestly costume recalls the fact that in essentials there was little difference between the dress of the priest and the layman in ancient Persia: as with the modern Parsi, the chief distinction perhaps lay in the fact that it was white. The Persian costume consisted of a woollen or linen tunic reaching almost to the knees; trousers reaching to the ankles, and laced shoes; the tunic and trousers were sometimes made of leather. The tunic was confined by the sacred cord or girdle, called in the Avesta *aiwyaoghana* (in late times *Kosti*), and worn by men and women alike. It was ceremonially put on at the age of fifteen (among the Parsees at seven or ten), and might only be removed during sleep.

[1] xxi. 21; cf. Hosea iv. 12: 'My people ask counsel at their stocks, and their staff declareth unto them.'

[2] Hovelacque, p. 424.

[3] Rhode, as above, p. 477.

The Persian magus wore a hood or cap (*kyrbasia*) concealing the back and sides of the head, and apparently identical with that worn by laymen, but the precise manner in which it was worn seems to have varied. Sometimes it was secured by a band or ribbon running round the upper part of the head (cf. no. 7 and fig. 37 *a* and *c*), at others there is no trace of any fillet. It terminated below in three lappets, one at the back and one at each side, which sometimes all hang loose (figs. 31 *b* and *c*), but often the two lateral ends are supposed to be tied under or across the chin. This raises a difficulty, for it is hardly ever possible to see any traces of a knot, and in many monuments, especially those produced by Greek artists, such as the Lycian sculptures[1] and the Sarcophagi from Sidon[2], the band which crosses the chin appears

a FIG. 32. *b*

a. Coin of an unknown ruler (*see* note to no. 105).

b. Coin of Tiridates II of Parthia (B.C. 248–210).

to have nothing to do with the side-lappets but to be a distinct article of apparel. In such examples as fig. 33 it is very difficult to see how this particular band can form any part of either lappet. Is it possible that something of the same character as the *paitidâna* (Parsi *penom*), or cloth placed over the mouth when eating or sacrificing to prevent the entrance of any impurity[3], was also worn upon ordinary occasions? It is true that in figs. 31 *a* and 33, and in analogous examples, the whole mouth is not covered, and that the modern *penom* is much deeper than the rather narrow bands indicated in these figures, in the statuette no. 2, and the coin fig. 32 *a*[4]. But the texts in the sacred books sometimes seem to treat the *paitidâna* as a part of ordinary costume, and it may be that a similar cloth was in quite general use. A female bust of Roman date in the British Museum[5], perhaps representing a personification of Persia, clearly wears across the chin a cloth quite distinct from the tiara (fig. 34), and it is conceivable that such a cloth might have been used in ancient Persia as much for practical as for religious reasons, just as the Tuaregs of the Western Sahara wear a cloth (*litham*) over their mouths to keep out the driving sand. The point may be commended to the attention of archaeologists, for it cannot be said that the accepted theory of a knot tied across or under the chin quite meets the facts of the case.

[1] *See* British Museum: *Catalogue of Sculptures in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, by A. H. Smith, vol. ii (1900).

[2] Hamdy Bey and Th. Reinach, *Une Nécropole royale à Sidon*, plates xxxii and xxxiii.

[3] Spiegel, as above, vol. iii, p. 684.

[4] *See* the admirable photographs and life-sized models in the Musée Guimet at Paris. The *penom* somewhat resembles the yashmak of Turkish women, but does not of course cover the nose.

[5] A. P. Bienkowski, *De simulacris barbararum gentium apud Romanos*, pp. 90–92, fig. 89.

The *locus classicus* for the Persian hood is in Strabo's description of the Magi of Cappadocia[1], and it suffices to prove that the head-dress of a magus, as already pointed out, was practically identical with that worn by laymen, a fact which emphasizes the common difficulty of differentiating the secular and priestly garb among the ancient Persians. Diogenes Laertius says that the garments of the Magi were white, as are those of the Parsi priest to-day, but apart from this difference of colour there does not appear to have been any very conspicuous distinction; and the higher priests seem to have dressed very like the king. The kyrbasia is seen upon the sculptures of Persepolis[2] and Lycia (fig. 37), upon Graeco-Persian gems[3], on coins (figs. 30–32), and silversmith's work (nos. 24, 48, &c., and fig. 12), and almost invariably appears in the numerous Greek representations of Persians. Even if we had not Strabo's description, the monuments would suffice to convince us that, whatever its origin may have been, as early as the fifth century it was regarded as characteristically Persian. Early accounts describe the Scythian cap as pointed[4]: the Scythian on the Behistun[5] sculptures wears a cap with a very long tapering point; while the well-known cylinder representing Scythians engaged in combat[6], and the fine vase from Kul-Oba in South Russia (Kondakoff, p. 123), show that the typical Scythian head-dress, if not so high as that seen at Behistun, was at any rate brought to some kind of point and had not the three characteristic lappets. A similar hood is seen at Persepolis[7], worn by a man carrying the bow-case or *gorytus*, though other figures armed in the same way appear with more upright caps, rather like that of the statuette no. 4 and without either the lappets or the drooping top of the later Persian type[7]. On Greek sculptures and vases, as well as on the satrapal coins, the type with lappets is clearly depicted as worn by noble Persians. Thus in the sculptures of the Nereid monument from Xanthos in Lycia, now in the British museum, no. 879 shows a satrap wearing it[8], as

FIG. 33. Head of a Persian from a Sarcophagus at Constantinople. (After Hamdy Bey and Th. Reinach, *Une Nécropole royale*, &c., pl. xxxii, fig. 12.)

[1] Quoted in the note to no. 48.

[2] Flandin and Coste, vol. iii, pl. 120 and 136; vol. ii, pl. 109, &c.

[3] Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*; examples in the British Museum (Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities), and in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

[4] Herodotus, vii. 64.

[5] British Museum, *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, 1900, pl. xvii.

[6] Furtwängler, as above; Cunningham[3], pl. xxi, D; Kondakoff, p. 137, &c.

[7] Flandin and Coste, vol. ii, pl. 109.

[8] British Museum: *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, vol. ii (1900), p. 24.

does the seated Persian on slab no. 7 of the Tomb of Payava [1] (fig. 37) which bears an inscription of the fourth century referring to Autophradates, satrap of Lydia, who may have governed Xanthos between B.C. 375 and B.C. 362. There are other examples in sculpture and on vases which show how inseparably this head-dress was associated in the Greek mind with Persia in the fifth and fourth centuries [2], though it must be remembered that, especially in later times, the Greeks clothe Persian and Scythian alike. If we may judge from various coins and monuments, the cap with lappets continued to be used in Persia and Asia Minor through Parthian into Sassanian times, though it differed in various details from the earlier examples. The Parthian variety (fig. 32 *b*) rises to a stiff point at the top and never covers the chin [3]. In the Sassanian variety, the side-pieces are broader and could not be tied [4]. A passage in Juvenal seems to confirm the survival of the tiara with lappets through Roman times [5]. He ascribes it to the hierophants of oriental cults, who encouraged female superstition; and his use of the word Phrygian reminds us of the fact that high caps of soft material have been widely disseminated throughout Asia from the earliest times down to our own. The Phrygian cap, which was to develop so strangely into an emblem of liberty, is but a species of a very large genus: it was employed in Early Christian art to indicate persons like the Magi, the Three Children of Babylon, or Daniel, whom the sacred legend associated with Mesopotamia or the East, and was accompanied by the tunic and close trousers with which it had always been worn. Sir Alexander Cunningham, in comparing the head-dress of no. 4 with that of a Rajah of Ladak [6], has merely given an instance of this persistence of types in Asia, which is further exemplified by many caps known to ethnography, especially by those of the various monastic orders in Tibet. Caps or hoods coming well down over the ears and neck have probably been always a necessity in countries of extreme climate, where in summer the heat of the sun is excessive, and icy winds blow constantly in winter. Thus modern travellers have remarked the occurrence of hoods

FIG. 34. Female bust of Roman period in the British Museum.

[1] British Museum: *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, vol. ii (1900), pl. xi, and p. 51. A bust (no. 1057 in the same catalogue) in the Mausoleum room, representing a satrap of the princely family of Mausolus, shows the same cap with tied lappets and chin-covering as fig. 33.

[2] Löwy, in *Jahrbuch des k. deutschen arch. Inst.*, vol. iii (1888), pp. 139 ff.: Studniczka, ibid., vol. vi (1891), pp. 231 ff.

[3] British Museum: *Catalogue of Parthian Coins*, by W. Wroth. Plates *passim*.

[4] e.g. Sculptures of Naksh-i-Rejeb, Flandin and Coste, vol. iv, pl. 191. The head-dresses of the earliest Sassanian kings upon the coins have lappets. Cf. A. de Longpérier, *Essai sur les médailles des rois perses de la dynastie Sassanide* (Paris, 1840).

[5] *Satire* vi. 515 'Phrygia vestitur bucca tiara.'

[6] Cunningham[1], p. 155 and pl. xiii, figs. 5 and 6.

very like the Persian among the Khirgiz-Kazaks in the Russian government of Syr Daria [1].

There was naturally a difference in the quality and ornamentation of the garments worn by different classes in Persia. The tunics and trousers of the wealthy were brightly striped or embroidered. One reads of ποικίλαι ἀναξυρίδες and πολυτελεῖς χιτῶνες, and a whole series of Greek works of art illustrate this variegated Persian raiment [2]. The great sarcophagi from the necropolis at Sidon may be cited as especially important in this regard [3], while a fragment from an Attic painted vase [4] dating from the time of Euphronios and Douris, found at Susa, represents a warrior fallen on one knee and wearing striped and spotted garments: probably the gaily-coloured materials were worn by the wealthy, and the common people contented themselves with coarse stuffs or leather [5]. The legs of the trousers on no. 70 are embroidered with a row of birds, which probably indicate that the wearer was a person of consideration, and recall the mention by Quintus Curtius (iii. 3, 8) of hawks upon a royal garment. The Persian noble further wore a sleeved mantle or *candys*, which had the peculiarity that the long narrow sleeves were not used but hung loose on either side like the sleeve of a hussar's jacket (cf. no. 2 and figs. 9, 35, and 37). This also was of bright colour, and Xenophon, who speaks of πορφυροῦς κάνδυς [6], informs us that the Persian cavalry only put their arms into the sleeves on days of inspection [7]. It may have been originally a Median garment adopted by the Persians and other Iranians; Justin (xli. 2) remarks that the Parthians wore it. It is represented on the sarcophagus of the satrap at Constantinople, and on the reliefs at Persepolis [8], and in one case the mode of fastening by cords or lappets over the breast is clearly visible: sometimes it would appear to have been bordered with fur, perhaps that of the beaver (cf. no. 2). It is known that the Persians were especially fond of beaver; the *Avesta* speaks of beaver-skin garments [9], and a Graeco-Persian gem is engraved with the slaying of a beaver in the presence of a noble [10]. Low boots laced in front (cf. fig. 13) completed the Persian's dress. The royal costume [11] consisted in great part of the same elements as those composing the dress of ordinary subjects, but the materials were

[1] Ch. de Ujfalvy, *Expédition scientifique française en Russie, en Sibérie et dans le Caucase*, vol. ii, p. 28.

[2] Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 5. 8.

[3] Hamdy Bey and Th. Reinach, as above, plates *passim* and pp. 289, 290, cf. also the Naples Mosaic representing the battle of Issus (A. Niccolini, *Quadro in musaico* &c.); the Vase of Xenophantus in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, *Compte rendu*, 1867, pl. iv, and Kondakoff, p. 80; and the examples quoted by Löwy and Studniczka in *Jahrbuch des k. deutschen arch. Inst.*, vol. iii (1888), pp. 139 ff., and vol. vi (1891), pp. 231 ff.

[4] E. Pottier, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1902, pp. 29, 31.

[5] Spiegel, as above, iii. 659.

[6] *Anabasis* i. 5. 8. [7] *Cyropaedia* viii. 3. 10, 13.

[8] e. g. Flandin and Coste, vol. ii, pl. 95; Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i, pl. 37. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. iv (1867), p. 152, describes the fuller sleeved dress worn by the kings as the candys, but this view does not seem to agree with the statements of Xenophon quoted above. Cf. also E. Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, p. vii.

[9] Spiegel, as above, iii. 659.

[10] Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, iii. 123. [11] Rawlinson, as above, vol. iv (1867), p. 152.

more magnificent. We hear of a purple tunic striped or mixed with white, crimson trousers, and yellow or saffron shoes. The royal mantle had wide sleeves and fell to the ankles; it was of purple often richly embroidered with gold, and that of Darius Codomannus is said to have had on it hawks in combat [1]. On his head the king wore a high stiff head-dress, flat at the top, having round it a fillet or diadem. This is perhaps the *kidaris* in which he is seen upon the monuments; but on cylinders he is represented either with a high Median head-dress dentated at the top, or, as in fig. 40, with a low serrated crown. The royal costume on the cylinders and other monuments does not accord in all respects with the literary evidence, for instead of trousers it shows a loose lower garment more like those now worn in various parts of the East. In the

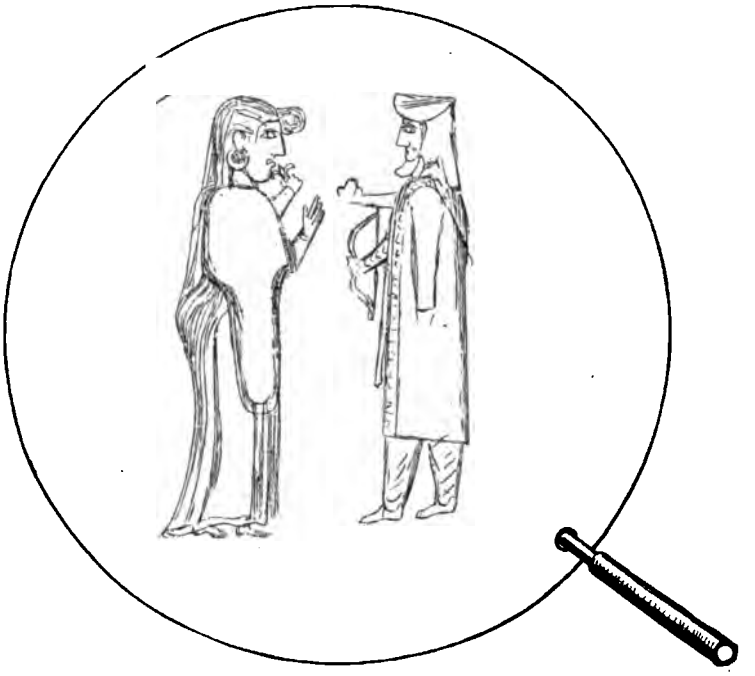


FIG. 35. Figures engraved inside the lid of the silver box no. 179.

Treasure, no. 1 shows this variety. Here the tiara is lower than that usually assigned to the king, and the band of gold with incised crenelation is interesting as showing that this form, perhaps derived from the crenelated top of a fire-altar, is older than Sassanian times (*see* note to no. 1). The crowns of Sassanian kings were symbolical in their design, and that of Sapor I is crenelated in the style of an altar; but this form of crown goes back beyond the Sassanian period, being seen upon Parthian coins, while the crenelated altar is even represented on a relief from Khorsabad. Whether or not this symbolism of the royal tiara existed in Achaemenian times, crenelation of this type certainly did, as a recent examination of the Behistun

[1] Cyrus appears to have worn an ordinary candys, but he was only a prince (Xenophon, *Cyrop.* viii. 3 and 13).

sculptures has shown (*see* note to no. 1 and fig. 44). These crenelated crowns should also be compared with that worn by the female figure, perhaps Anaïtis, on the gold ring (no. 103), which is certainly of the fourth century B. C.

Both king and nobles habitually wore jewellery, as both the monuments (e. g. figs. 8, 9, and 13) and the literary evidence testify. We hear of ear-rings, collars, and armlets; and on Achaemenian works of art these details may all be distinguished. Herodotus[1] mentions the gold collars and bracelets worn by the *Immortals* and other Persian soldiers, which formed part of the Greek booty after Plataea[2]. Xenophon frequently notices these ornaments; in one instance[3] as worn by the Median king Astyages, in another as wedding gifts offered by Cyaxares to his daughter on the occasion of her marriage with Cyrus[4]. The same author (*Oeconomicus*, iv. 23) describes the astonishment of Lysander when Cyrus, in the royal park at Sardis, told him that he had arranged the whole and planted trees with his own hands: for the Greek envoy could not associate manual labour with the rich attire which he saw before him, or with the splendour of the ornaments on the neck and wrists of the Persian prince (*τῶν στρεπτῶν καὶ τῶν ψελίων τὸ κάλλος*). Xenophon further relates that the younger Cyrus presented to Syennesis, king of Tarsus in Cilicia, a golden collar and bracelets with a golden sword and a Persian costume[5]. The same prince, when the baggage-wagons stuck fast in the mud, called upon his nobles to put their shoulders to the wheel, whereupon they threw off their mantles (candys) and set to work with a will, some of them resplendent with their collars and bracelets[6]: possibly nos. 117 to 142 may be not dissimilar from the ornaments revealed to the historian's curious gaze upon that day. Of female costume we have a glimpse in the intaglios of two gold rings (nos. 103 and 104), on the box no. 179 (fig. 35), and some of the gold plaques (e. g. nos. 89 and 93, pl. xiv), in all of which it resembles that of Graeco-Persian gems. The upper garment with wide sleeves seems, at any rate in court circles, to have been common to both sexes; but elsewhere only the women wore it. The fashion of wearing the hair in a long plait down the back must have been general: it may be well seen in the figure of a goddess (perhaps Anaïtis) on a cylinder found in a tumulus ten versts north of

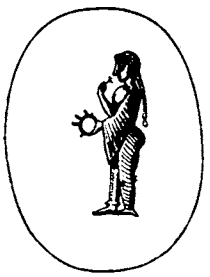


FIG. 36. Graeco-Persian gem in the British Museum.

[1] viii. 113.

[2] ix. 80.

[3] *Cyrop.* i. 3.

[4] *Cyrop.* viii. 5. Many of these passages are quoted at length by M. Odobesco (*Le Trésor de Pétrossa*, vol. i, pp. 222 ff.), who also reproduces the famous Mosaic at Pompeii representing Alexander and Darius at Issus, in which the Persian king is seen wearing a penannular collar (see fig. 8) with ends in form of serpents' heads (*see* J. Overbeck, *Pompeii in seinen Gebäuden, Alterthümern und Kunstwerken*, fourth ed., 1884, pp. 613 ff.).

[5] Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 27 *στρεπτὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ ψέλια καὶ ἀκινάκην χρυσοῦν καὶ στολὴν Περσικήν.*

[6] Ibid. i. 5, 8 *ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ στρεπτοὺς (ἔχοντες) περὶ τοῖς τραχήλοις καὶ ψέλια περὶ ταῖς χερσίν.* Collars were worn by male Scythians in South Russia, *see* Kondakoff, pp. 61, 62. *Compte rendu*, 1883-4, plate v, fig. 3. The fine gold collars among the gold ornaments from Siberia in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg show that the 'Scythians' of Asia had the same fashion.

Anapa in South Russia[1], and on a gem in the British Museum (fig. 36). When we consider such personal ornaments as those which form so large a part of the Oxus Treasure, or those which the French have found at Susa, we realize more vividly than by the perusal of a hundred written statements how fully justified was the ancient reputation for luxury and magnificence which Persia has maintained throughout the ages. Archaeology has confirmed the tradition to which philosophers and poets have again and again returned, and shown that Persia and her princes were indeed justly famed as the accepted types of worldly splendour[2].

Weapons: the dagger.

The principal weapons of the Persian, the spear, the sword, and the bow, are all represented upon objects in the collection. Another weapon of offence, the battle-axe, does not occur, and is not mentioned by Herodotus in his description of the Persian equipment[3]; but the frequency of its appearance in Greek representations of Persian warriors[4], which are generally marked by accurate observation, makes its existence practically certain. The spear had a socketed head of lozenge or leaf-shape, and those of the king or the royal guard had a globular knob at the butt (no. 114; fig. 13).

The sword or *acinaces*, which was worn on the right side (*see* nos. 48 and 70; figs. 9 and 37), is remarkable for its shortness: Xenophon indeed describes it as a μάχαιρα or κοπίς. It was straight, and the hilt at the end next the blade usually has a heart-shaped termination[5]. The wooden sheath, which in the case of princes or nobles was often covered with plates of embossed gold[6], had at the upper end a broad lateral extension perforated at the outer extremity; a projecting loop on the same side lower down; and at the lower end a chape, also perforated. A cord or thong attaching it to the girdle passed through the first of these perforations and through the loop; a second cord through the hole in the chape encircled the leg, the object probably being to prevent the sword from dangling, and keep it in an accessible position on the thigh whether the wearer was walking or riding. The episode of the death of Cambyses shows that the unfortunate king was probably wearing a dagger attached in this manner when he met his end in Egypt. 'But as he was leaping upon his horse the chape fell off the

[1] *Compte rendu*, 1888, Atlas, pl. v, fig. 3.

[2] Aeschylus, *Persae* 250 Ὦ Περσὶς αἶα καὶ πολὺς πλούτου λιμήν; Horace, *Odes* ii. 12. 21 'dives Achaemenes.' Spenser, *Faery Queene*, Canto iv. 7 'Persia . . . nourse of pompous pride'; Plato, *Alcibiades*, I, § 112.

[3] Bk. vii. 61. In ch. 64 of the same book Herodotus mentions the *sagaris* or battle-axe as a Scythian weapon. It is curious that this weapon has not occurred in the Scythian tombs of Southern Russia.

[4] For example, on the Sidon sarcophagi (*see* Hamdy Bey and Th. Reinach, as above, Atlas).

[5] This peculiarity is shared by the daggers of the Siberian Bronze Age; *see* the books referred to on p. 36, note 1. It would be interesting to know whether the perished sheaths of these weapons were also of the type above discussed.

[6] Herodotus, ix. 80; Xenophon, *Anabasis* i. 8. 29. Graeco-Scythian sheaths from Europe were also covered with gold. In the Hermitage are two examples, one from Kul-Oba (*Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, pl. xxvi, fig. 2), the other from Chertomlyk near Nicopol (*Compte rendu*, 1864, pl. v, fig. 1; *Recueil d'antiq. scyth.*, pl. xxxv, fig. 1.

scabbard of his sword, and the blade being exposed pierced his thigh[1].' Such a wound could not have been inflicted by any long sword, and the passage is of interest as a literary confirmation of archaeological evidence. It may be noted that the mention of a chape which was liable to become detached again proves the accuracy of the historian, for the swords of this type seen on the monuments all have chapes, and so have the actual sheaths found in the south of Russia: no. 22 also once had a chape, as the holes at its lower end conclusively show. On the monuments the *acinaces* is worn by soldiers variously dressed, so that we obtain no definite information as to the probable origin of its peculiar sheath. Some have maintained that it was a Persian form and transmitted by Persia to the North; others that it is of northern invention and carried into Iran by the Scythians. The former argue that their view is confirmed by the discovery not far from Elizavetgrad, near the river Tasmina, of a sheath of this type, ornamented with monsters and figures of Mesopotamian character[2]. The latter urge that the example found at Vettersfelde[3] in Prussia (fig. 22) but of Graeco-Scythian origin, was probably made for a Scythian prince before B.C. 500, and that this points to a northern origin.

FIG. 37. Figure of a Satrap from the tomb of Payava in Lycia. (British Museum, *Catalogue of Sculpture*, vol. ii, pl. xi.)

It has been suggested that the only example of this form of sheath in the Treasure (no. 22) may be accounted for in a similar manner. On p. 84 the reasons for and against the genuineness of this object have been stated at some length, and the fact has not been disguised that there are two antagonistic opinions as to its authenticity. One of the principal obstacles in the way of its acceptance is the difficulty of imagining under what circumstances it could have been made. For though the frieze of figures is based upon an Assyrian model, neither the costume nor the dividing bands of ornament are Assyrian. The form of the sheath itself is Scytho-Persian; and if on the analogy of the Vettersfelde example it is supposed that it was made for a barbarian chief or prince, by an artist living in the time of transition between the Assyrian supremacy and the

[1] Herodotus, iii. c. 64 *καὶ οἱ ἀναθρώσκοντι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τοῦ κολεοῦ τοῦ ξίφεος ὁ μύκης ἀποπίπτει, γυμνωθὲν δὲ τὸ ξίφος παίει τὸν μηρόν.* Attention was drawn to the archaeological interest of this passage by Mr. E. H. Minns, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

[2] This sheath, from which figs. 26 and 38 are taken, was discovered in 1763 by General Melgunoff and is now in the Hermitage. It is reproduced on a small scale by A. Maskell, *South Kensington Museum Art Handbooks*: Russian Art (1884), p. 112; and there is an electrotype reproduction (imperfect) in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. Another sheath with the same kind of ornamentation was recently found in a kurgan in the Maikop district of the Kuban. It is provisionally described by B. Pharmakovsky in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger* of the *Jahrbuch des k. deutschen arch. Inst.*, 1904, pp. 100, 101, where it is assigned to the Babylonian-Assyrian culture of the 7th–6th century B.C. It will be treated at greater length in a forthcoming volume of *Materials*.

[3] A. Furtwängler, *Der Goldfund von Vettersfelde* (Berlin, 1883).

rise of Persian power, there may be a possible explanation of its form and even of its peculiar decorative motives. In view of its destination, the Scythian form would be essential, while the lion-hunt would naturally commend itself as a subject suited to the tastes of a nomad huntsman. From the seventh century, Assyrians and Medes were in frequent contact with Scythians in Hither Asia. Esarhaddon found it politic to consider the request of a Scythian prince for his daughter's hand, while a little later Cyaxares the Mede sent the noble youth of his nation to learn archery in Scythia [1]. Under such conditions there must have been regular relations, with the inevitable interchange of gifts, and the suggestion has been put forward that the sheath might have belonged to a dagger sent as a gift to a Scythian king, perhaps in the seventh or sixth century before Christ. The donor would be some prince ruling in territories in which the traditions of late Assyrian art were not forgotten, yet at the same time, as the ornamental borders (fig. 49) would seem to show, accessible in some degree to early Greek influence. With regard to the latter point, it may be remembered that the Ionian Greeks had direct relations with Assyria, and objects of Assyrian character reached the Greek ports on the Black Sea [2]. Antimenidas, brother of Alcaeus, took military service in Babylonia, and doubtless other Greeks did the same. A cylinder of about B.C. 600, found in Babylon but of Greek workmanship, with the subject of Perseus and Medusa, affords another proof of this early Greek influence in Mesopotamia: it was, perhaps, made for a Greek living in the country and needing a seal of the local fashion [3].

FIG. 38. Figures at the mouth of the 'Melgunoff' sheath: *see* last page. (From an electrotype.)

The Persian bow was probably of what is known as the 'composite' variety, strengthened with sinews and plates of horn, and used over all Northern Asia from Anatolia to Japan down to modern times [4]. This variety of bow, which is light, convenient, and extremely powerful, is eminently adapted for use by horsemen, and is an interesting result of the inventive ingenuity of peoples inhabiting countries where suitable wood for the plain long-bow is often scarce. Composite bows have been found in two tombs in Egypt, one of the Nineteenth and the other of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and their type in both cases points to a foreign and probably an Assyrian origin [5]. They differ somewhat in form from the more recent Asiatic type,

[1] Herodotus, i. 73.

[2] Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, vol. iii, p. 68.

[3] Ibid., p. 74.

[4] Composite bows are mostly shorter than plain bows, and most of those represented on the monuments are short (cf. nos. 24, 114, 771). It may be noted, however, that Xenophon describes the Persian bows as large, and says that the Cretans with the younger Cyrus used them in preference to their own. (*Anab.* iii. 4. 17.) Diodorus Siculus describes the Persian archers as falling upon one knee to shoot: εἰς γόνυ κεκαθικότες (xvii. 115). (Babelon, *Perses Achéménides*, p. 7.)

[5] F. von Luschan, *Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, May, 1893; H. Balfour, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxvi (1897), p. 210 ff.

the change in the latter being possibly due to Scythian influence. Mr. H. Balfour reminds us of the Scythian invasion of Media in the reign of Cyaxares, and recalls the fact already mentioned that this monarch entrusted Median youths to the people of the Steppes that they might be taught the use of the bow [1]. Their skill, as is well known, was afterwards rivalled by the Persians; and this nation continued to produce through Parthian, Sassanian, mediaeval and modern times bows of the most admirable strength and finish. A cylindrical quiver was hung on the back, or else

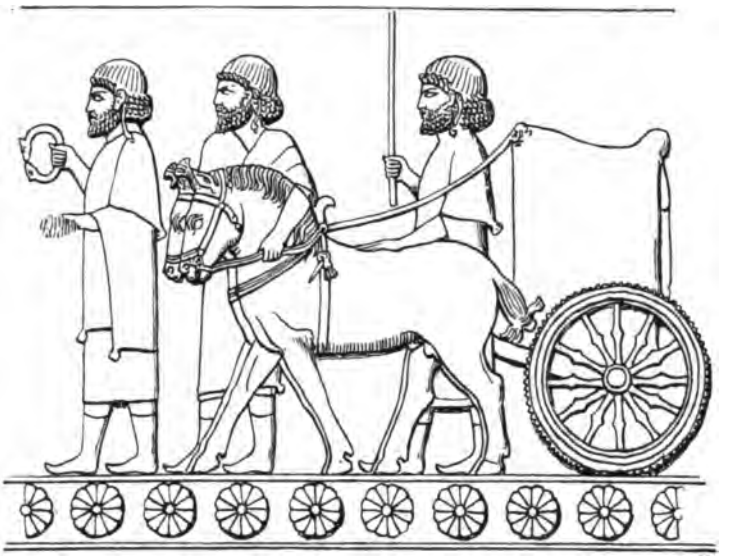


FIG. 39. Chariot and figures from Persepolis. (After Flandin and Coste, vol. ii, pl. 105.)

a *gorytus* or bow-case, of a type which has survived in Northern Asia until our own times, was carried at the left side (cf. no. 84) [2]: this object may well have been of Scythian origin. The Persian warrior protected his person by scale-armour [3] and with a shield. The latter was oblong, with slightly incurved sides, made of wicker [4], and strengthened by a metal boss. Pausanias [5] in two passages notes its similarity to that of the Celts; the oblong Scythian shield, best seen on a Graeco-Scythian electrum vase from the tumulus of Kul-Oba near Kertch [6], may have been an intermediate link between the two. For in their arms, as in their dress, the Scythians were not unlike their Persian neighbours, and Greek artists were hardly able to discriminate between them.

[1] *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* as above, p. 218. Another paper by Mr. Balfour in the same Journal, vol. xix (1890), describes the history and affinities of the composite bow. *See* also C. J. Longman, in the same Journal, vol. xxiv (1895), pp. 49 ff., and *Archery*, Badminton Series, 1894, pp. 63 ff. Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. 8. 37) describes the Scythian bow in terms which unmistakably point to its composite construction. The Greeks compared it to the letter Σ.

[2] The *gorytus* is frequently seen in the sculptures at Persepolis.

[3] Herodotus, iii. 61. Scale armour is of early date in the Scythian area, and several examples of such mail have been found (e.g. *Compte rendu*, 1880, p. 223).

[4] Herodotus, iii. 61. [5] Bk. viii. c. 50, § 1; x. c. 19. 4. [6] Kondakoff, p. 301.

Chariots and riding.

One of the most interesting objects in the Treasure is the gold model of one of the chariots in which Persian kings or nobles were wont to ride. In Persia, as in Egypt and the great monarchies of Western Asia, the two-wheeled chariot was commonly employed both in war and in the chase; the type with scythes attached to the axles for mowing down the enemy being also used in battle. Xenophon[1] has left descriptions which supplement the knowledge derived from the monuments, though his account of Persian chariots is vitiated by his apparent ignorance of their relation to those long employed in Assyria, of which the Hebrew prophet[2] speaks in so poetic a strain: 'Behold, he shall come up as clouds, and his chariots shall be as a whirlwind: his horses are swifter than eagles.' The Persian chariot was formerly best known from the cylinder of Darius in the British Museum[3] (fig. 40), from a relief in the palace of Xerxes at Persepolis[4] (fig. 39), and from the mosaic representing the battle of Issus discovered in the House of the Faun at Pompeii[5]. The Oxus Treasure contained two[6] models which supply valuable additional information in several matters of detail; for though technical exigencies have caused slight alterations in the treatment of individual parts, the fact that everything is executed in the round is a great advantage for the purpose of accurate study. There would appear to have been originally at least one other model in the Treasure, as no. 45 (plate xiii) has still part of a yoke attached to its neck. It is hard to say for what purpose these little models were made: they are too delicate for children's toys, and in its purer form at any rate the Zoroastrian religion did not countenance votive offerings. The Persian chariot is the direct descendant of the later Assyrian form, and that seen on the cylinder of Darius (fig. 40) approaches very closely to the Assyrian type, a fact which seems to justify its attribution to Darius son of Hystaspes rather than to a later monarch. The later Assyrian type is marked by its greater

FIG. 40. Cylinder of Darius in the British Museum.

[1] *Cyropaedia* vi. 1. 27.

[2] Jeremiah iv. 13: cf. also Nahum iii. 2.

[3] Assyrian Room, Case D.

[4] Cecil Smith, *Catalogue of Casts from Persepolis*, no. 4; Flandin and Coste, vol. ii, pl. 105; Perrot and Chipiez, vol. v, 801, 408; Mansell, photo 523.

[5] Niccolini, *Case di Pompeii*, vol. i, *Casa del Fauno*, pp. 7 f. Other references in O. Nuoffer, *Der Rennwagen im Altertum*, p. 61 (Leipzig, 1904).

[6] One, no. 7 of the present volume, the other in the possession of the Earl of Lytton, reproduced by General Cunningham, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. l (1881), pl. xii; and Kondakoff, p. 337, fig. 298. Fig. 11 is a truer representation of Lord Lytton's chariot in its actual state, for in General Cunningham's illustration, and in Kondakoff's which follows it, a wheel has been added from the evidence of a coin; while the horse which is shown belonged to the General himself, not to the Earl of Lytton, and is now in the present collection (no. 8).

capacity, enabling it to carry as many as four persons, and by its generally massive character. This is shown in the increased size of the wheels, now almost the height of a man, and in a corresponding increase in the height of the car offering a greater protection to the occupant. The form upon the cylinder is rectangular, like that of the Elamite chariot on a relief from Kouyunjik in the British Museum, and the tires are studded with nails as are those of Assur-bani-pal in the same relief, though these nails are here placed at wider intervals than in the Oxus model.

The Persian chariot under the later Achaemenian princes had simpler harness and trappings than those in use in Mesopotamia, and dispensed with the vertical support connecting the front of the car with the yoke in order to give greater stability when passing over rough ground. The use of four horses driven abreast had now come into fashion, and the literary evidence which we derive from the description of chariots of more than two[1] is confirmed both by the Naples mosaic, where Darius Codomannus is seen flying from the field in a quadriga, and by our own gold model: the sacred chariots used in ceremonial processions at this time were drawn by as many as eight horses[2]. There was also a tendency to an increase in the number of spokes, the chariot on the Persepolitan relief having twelve, like the Elamite example at Kouyunjik, that of the Naples mosaic ten or twelve, and our gold model nine—an awkward number probably due to the carelessness or ignorance of the goldsmith, who should have provided ten: on the other hand, the chariot of the cylinder abides by the eight spokes which were the rule in Assyria. More than one of the Persian developments point westward to Syria and Ionia: thus the employment of four horses instead of a pair seems to have been introduced from Syria, or the regions under Syrian influence; and the four-horsed chariots on Assyrian monuments belong not to Assyrians but to Canaanites[3]. The hand-hole cut out of the side at the back of Lord Lytton's model (fig. 11), and intended to assist the charioteer in mounting, is a Syrian or Ionian substitute for the handle projecting vertically from the edge, which is usual in Assyria[4]. The extraordinarily small size of the horses in the Persian chariots, so unexpected in the land of the great Nisaean steeds[5], is also a feature of certain chariot models from Cyprus which belong to the Syrian cultural

FIG. 41. Gold model of a chariot (no. 7), back view.

[1] Nuoffer, p. 70.
[2] Herodotus, vii. 40.
[3] Ibid, p. 50.
[4] Ibid., p. 67.
[5] Herodotus, as above; Strabo, xi. 527.

province[1]. And finally, the expanding of the spokes midway into bulbs or knobs in the chariot of the Persepolitan relief and the Naples mosaic, seems also to be characteristic of Western Asia, being found upon Phoenician coins of the fourth century. The costume of the men on the relief who are bringing this chariot as a part of their tribute is almost in the Greek style, and also suggests that they come from a country where Greek influence was strong[2]. The upshot of the above considerations is, that though the Persian chariot derives in the main from that of late-Assyrian times, it received various modifications introduced principally from the Syrian area and possibly to a less degree from Ionia[3].

If we turn now to a more particular examination of the Oxus chariot, we may notice one or two points which call for special remark. The yoke is straight and rather clumsy, neither hollowed nor bent for the reception of the horses' necks: the long continuous form would appear to be exceptional, as in four-horsed chariots the horses seem as a rule to have been harnessed in pairs with two smaller yokes[4]. The vertical projecting ornaments terminating in reversed crescents which rise from the yoke between the horses' necks is an interesting survival from the Assyrian harness[5]. Attention may also be drawn to the top-knots between the horses' ears, which in their various forms replace the Assyrian plumes; and to the termination of their tails in single wires, possibly suggesting the knots of ribbon with which, again in imitation of the Assyrian fashion, the Persian horse was bedecked. In the chariot itself may be noted the projecting studs upon the tires, not placed contiguously, as in Assyria, but spaced out as on the cylinder of Darius; and also the ornament of two bands in saltire engraved on the front. These may be a reminiscence of the crossed quiver-like cases for weapons which in the earlier Assyrian and Egyptian chariots served a practical purpose in war: the saltire bands on the side of the chariot on the cylinder may have the same origin[6]. The hatched ornament engraved on the bottom of the car may be intended to represent the groundwork of crossed thongs on which, as we learn from the chariot preserved at Florence, the Egyptian charioteer actually stood[7].

Another special point of interest about the two models is the division of the interior by a long seat, bisecting the car longitudinally, on which the principal occupant is seated facing sideways. It is probable that chariots so arranged, and (like both of these) open at the back, were only used for peaceful excursions and not for battle or the pursuit of wild beasts. The war chariot and the hunting chariot were naturally closed at the back: Xenophon (*Cyrop.* vi. 4. 9) speaks of a door; and Darius upon the cylinder seems to be supporting himself against the back as he stands to shoot the lion[8]. Finally, we may note that of the two occupants the prince or satrap is represented as very much bigger than his driver, according to the primitive artistic device which seeks to render distinctions of rank by representing the important persons on a larger scale than the rest. It has been suggested by Professor Studniczka that when Xenophon, in his account of a ceremonial procession

[1] Nuoffer, pp. 75, 21, and 47.
[2] Ibid., p. 60.
[3] Ibid., p. 84.
[4] Ibid., p. 72.
[5] Ibid., p. 70.
[6] Ibid., p. 69.
[7] Ibid., p. 65.
[8] Ibid., p. 67.

of Cyrus the Great (*Cyrop.* viii. 3. 14), remarks the manner in which the king towered above his tall driver, he is basing his description upon some work of art in which this characteristic convention has been employed[1].

It will be gathered from what has preceded, that this little gold model is not merely a trinket but a work of sufficient importance to justify a rather long digression. With its companion in Lord Lytton's possession, it is the only contemporary representation of a Persian chariot executed in the round, and can therefore throw light upon certain details of construction which reliefs and pictorial representations do not make quite clear. Doubtless it deviates from the accepted type in certain particulars, such as the over-narrow felloes of the wheels, and the manner in which the shafts are attached to the axle: but these are unimportant aberrations to be explained by the use of slender gold wire, and they in no way detract from the fidelity with which the whole object has been produced. Bearing upon it legible marks of its descent and its place in the evolution of oriental chariot-building, the model affords corroborative evidence of the Achaemenian date assigned to other objects in the treasure.

In riding, the Persians, like the contemporary Greeks, used neither saddles nor stirrups, and as a rule mounted by giving each other a 'leg up.' Among the Greeks, who usually leaped upon their horses, the less arduous method was known as 'the Persian fashion[2]'; and if through age or illness a man required a permanent 'mounter' (*ἀναβολεύς*), he recognized that he was following the custom of the country where satraps considered it a privilege to lift the Great King upon his steed[3]. The only substitute for a saddle was a saddle-cloth, often ornamented with embroidery[4] and fringes (cf. no. 24), while stirrups did not come in until Parthian or perhaps Sassanian times (*see* below, p. 72).

Conclusion.

The discussion of these details might be continued almost indefinitely, but to prolong it further would exceed the limits of an introduction like the present. Two more general questions still remain to be examined, one relating to the probable place or places where the objects composing the Treasure were made, the other to the occasion on which they may have been deposited. Neither question perhaps admits of a very definite or satisfactory answer. It has already been shown how imitative Persian art was, and how much it was indebted both to Assyria and to Greece. The Oxus Treasure is eloquent of this imitative character, and in this respect truly represents the spirit of Achaemenian Iran. Here we see details taken over from Assyria, as, for instance, the birds' legs of the gryphons (nos. 116 and 28), and the

[1] Nuoffer, p. 57.

[2] For mention of the Persian fashion *see* Xenophon, *Anabasis* iv. 4. 4, *Hipparch.* i. 17, *Cyropaedia* vii. 1. 38; Arrian, i. 15. 8, iv. 13. 1.

[3] Xenophon's *Treatise on Horsemanship* (Περὶ ἱππικῆς) is the best source of information on these points, and from chaps. 6 and 7 the absence of saddles and stirrups may be inferred with certainty. Several interesting facts with regard to the subject will be found in Mr. H. C. Dakyns' edition of Xenophon, vol. iii, notes to the *Treatise*.

[4] On one of the Sidon Sarcophagi, a Persian hunter's saddle-cloth shows affronted lion-gryphons on a red ground (Hamdy Bey and Reinach, *Une Nécropole royale à Sidon*, p. 303).

conventional posture of the lions on the gold patera no. 18; here Greek influence is manifest, as in the silver patera no. 19, and the rings nos. 101, 102: everything in these objects speaks of dependence and of a cosmopolitan taste always ready to assimilate the ideas of others. Now in a country where such a spirit reigned and where communications were good, we should expect to find, as at a later time in the Roman Empire, a widespread uniformity of taste and a free circulation of motives from one province to another; nor would there be much originality or variation except quite near the home of a strong indigenous art such as that of the Ionian Greeks in the west or the nomadic peoples on the frontiers of the northern Steppes. The old Persian Empire offers in many respects a rather close parallel to that of Rome, which also had a uniform and unoriginal art disseminated through provinces situated at vast distances from each other. Rome, like Persia, stood in a dependent relation to the Greeks; and in the Celts upon her northern borders she had a barbaric race with an art even more individual than that of the Scythian tribes. Just as the monuments of one Roman province are often monotonous and hardly distinguishable from those of another, so we might expect to find in different parts of ancient Persia almost identical examples of the prevalent styles of the day. Thus there is no abstract reason why such a Persepolitan or Susian type as no. 116 should not have been produced in Bactria to the order of a powerful satrap; especially as the collar, fig. 18, which, as far as its inlay is concerned, is of a class not so very inferior, bears traces of a pronounced northern (Scythic) influence. Nevertheless there are reasons which lead to the supposition that a large part at least of the Oxus Treasure was imported from the south-western provinces. In the first instance the Susa jewels so often mentioned in these pages may, with very strong probability, be assigned to the place in which they were found, and therefore it is exceedingly likely not only that the almost identical armlets in the present collection were also made there, but that the armilla itself may have a similar origin. This makes a like provenance for the gold jug, no. 17, more than possible, while the affinities of the gold patera, no. 18, and the sheath, no. 22, are also to be sought rather in the direction of Mesopotamia than of Bactria. Then again several of the rings, nos. 105–110, are of what is usually described as Persepolitan types, and in the note to no. 106 it is pointed out that similar rings were used for sealing in Chaldaea after the time of Alexander. Other rings, as has already been mentioned, stand in the closest relation to those of Greece, and the silver handle and patera (nos. 10 and 19) also exhibit a strong Greek influence. A number of other things, like the majority of the bracteates (nos. 25 ff.) and most of the miscellaneous ornaments, have no characteristics which would lead us to assign them to the north-eastern satrapies; while the chariot (no. 7) has been shown to be of Mesopotamian descent and may perfectly well have been made in the centre of the Empire. Indeed, if we seek to find any objects which are apparently detached from the average Persian art, we arrive by a process of elimination at three small groups: (1) the ornaments marked by the Scythic style; (2) some of the more barbarous gold plaques which, if genuine at all, might well be ascribed to a remote provincial district; (3) the curious series formed by the silver statuette (no. 4) and the gold heads (nos. 5 and 6). The second of these groups

contains many types which are not distinctively provincial but bear a general Persian character, so that the search for something purely local is really best confined to the first and third groups only. Of the first enough has perhaps been said to prove its claim to independence (p. 35). The third also appears to have an individual character, and if it has copied the products of any known art it has reached the point at which imitation by its very remoteness almost becomes originality. The earliest Indian attempts at sculpture may have looked like this in the times when Greek influence had not yet become a permanent factor beyond the Hindu Kush. The staring eyes, the pierced distended lobes of the ears, the ill-proportioned figure of no. 4 suggest a provincial origin in a region not very far from Hindustan, and one might imagine that a Chorienes dwelling in the recesses of Badakshan might have commanded work with just such characteristics as these. We conclude then that the Oxus Treasure as a whole cannot be claimed for Bactria, but that a small proportion only may have been made in the region of the Oxus.

As to the occasion on which the Treasure was concealed, General Cunningham has propounded a theory which must be mentioned in this place. Arguing from the fact that the series of coins stops abruptly with those of Euthydemus (see p. 5), he suggests that the deposit may have belonged to some old-established family, and have been increased by additions made by various members through a long series of years. At some troubled time the representative of this house was compelled to fly from his home taking his most valued possessions with him, and through some sudden alarm hastily concealed them in a marked spot, intending to come back for them when tranquillity had been restored. Meeting with an untimely end, he never returned, and thus the Treasure was left where it was found for about two thousand years. General Cunningham supposes that the last owner may have belonged to the army of Euthydemus which marched in B.C. 209 to oppose Antiochus III; but an eastern supporter of the Bactrian king would probably have left his treasure at home, while if the discovery was really made on the site of the old Kabadian, the hypothesis of loss during a campaign becomes superfluous. Were it not for the late date of these coins it would have been tempting to assign the deposit to a considerably earlier period—during Alexander's invasion or very shortly after it. It might be recalled that by Alexander's seizure of the treasures at Susa, Persepolis, and Pasargadae, a number of valuable possessions must have been dispersed and passed from hand to hand; for the treasuries did not contain money or bullion only, but other objects in the precious metals. The accumulated wealth of these royal storehouses must have been enormous: in B.C. 316 Antigonus still found rich booty at Susa, among which mention is made of crowns and vessels of gold and silver; and it is easy to imagine that such things as the gold ewer or the armilla may once have been numbered among royal possessions. After Alexander's time Bactria passed through many of those crises which commonly lead to the concealment of treasure, and speculation as to the particular occasion on which this one was buried can lead to no definite result. Desirable though more precise knowledge might be, it is not essential to the position or the prestige of the Oxus Treasure. This hoard from the most distant province of Iran appeals to the

student by its own intrinsic qualities, so that even were it possible to connect any part of it with Alexander himself, it would gain little beyond an added glamour of romance: it already has the charm always attaching to buried gold, and the fascination which belongs to 'treasures of darkness and hidden riches of secret places.' It has been previously remarked (p. 3) that this most interesting portion of Sir Wollaston Franks' bequest to the nation was compromised after its discovery by dishonest usage; and though the obviously spurious additions have been eliminated, it may still contain here or there an object which may ultimately be condemned. The publication is therefore attended with more than ordinary difficulties, but it is felt that the responsibility of this issue is one which the donor himself would not have wished to see evaded. Had he lived he would undoubtedly have published his collection for the general advantage of archaeology, even if in this or that matter his judgement had been subjected to adverse criticism; for he would have argued that in ill-explored fields like that of the early Persian minor arts, the harvest is too scanty to be left unreaped because there may happen to be a few tares among the corn.

It seemed desirable to take the opportunity afforded by the reproduction of the Oxus Treasure to include in the same publication a few other antiquities from Asia, also forming part of the Franks Bequest. They consist of examples of ancient Persian silver plate, with the addition of two or three miscellaneous objects affected by classical influence. Of the plate, nine pieces (nos. 178–186) which were obtained in Armenia are of the same period as the Treasure, and the preceding remarks on Achaemenian art will apply to them also. The others (nos. 187–191) are chiefly Sassanian, and belong to the interesting class of silver vessels of the later Persian monarchy best represented in the Museum of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, in the collections of Counts Serge and Gregory Stroganoff, and in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris. A short bibliography of this class of silver vessels will be found immediately preceding the note to no. 187.

Sassanian art.

The Sassanian period is important and interesting no less from the artistic than from the political point of view, and in order to understand the place in artistic development occupied by its antiquities, it is necessary to explain the conditions obtaining in Persia after the official restoration of Zoroastrianism by Ardeshir Babegan in the year 223 of our era. During the greater part of the interval between the fall of the old monarchy and the rise of the new dynasty the country had been governed by the Parthians, who boasted themselves Phil-Hellenes and derived their art principally from the Greeks. The Sassanian kings, though they made profession of national sentiment in art as in all things, were unable altogether to dispense with western

aid; but in the minor arts and in ornament their patronage led to a development of indigenous talent which exerted an active influence over the continent of Europe. The national life of Persia under the new monarchy[1] was based, as in the old days, upon agriculture, and its strength consisted in the owners and tillers of the soil who stood in something of a feudal relation to each other. The great nobles enjoyed a considerable measure of independence, and were so firmly established in their own districts that at the time of the Arab invasion some of them were in a position to treat with the conquerors and to aid them in the reorganization of the country. In Tabaristan nobles of the house of Karen maintained the Zoroastrian religion for a hundred years and, though they paid a tribute to the Khalifs, regarded themselves as the successors of the last king Yezdegerd. At the beginning of the Sassanian rule, the restored Zoroastrian priesthood acquired a great political influence, and it is to their instigation that the occasional persecutions of Christians were principally due. But, besides the comparatively small number of Nestorian Christians, the country must still have contained a large heretical population. In the Semitic districts on the Euphrates this was certainly the case; while, until Christianity and Buddhism diminished their popularity or put an end to their existence, cults like that of Anaïtis, which still persisted in places like Armenia and Bactria, seem to have provided the artists of the border districts with the abnormal subjects found on certain silver dishes mentioned below[2]. The restored Persian kingdom, placed as it was on the highway between the Mediterranean and Inner Asia, was necessarily penetrated by the most various influences, and in addition to those coming from the West, or exerted in the Euphrates valley, received from the North and East others which operated on a smaller scale, and are consequently more difficult to define. But Persia was not content only to receive; as has already been indicated, she made her own influence felt in distant countries. In such a kingdom there was no place for stagnation, and down to its last century it played a great part in the world during that interesting time which ushered in the Middle Ages. The dynasty which treated on a footing of equality with the Emperors of New Rome, which produced a romantic personality like Bahram Gur and two conquerors like Sapor and Khosru Nushirvan, which caused the great reliefs of Naksh-i-Rustam and Tak-i-Bostan to be made, which warred with the Ephthalite Huns and kept friendship with the Buddhist princes of Hindustan, was a force which could not but leave its mark on the history of its times, and is still too little known by the student of the earlier Middle Ages.

In the absence of original monuments we are hardly in a position to judge what the painting of the Sassanian period may have been, but the great rock sculptures reveal a pronounced late-classical influence, while the ornament is largely of

[1] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chaps. 8 and 51 (Professor Bury's edition); Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden* (Leyden, 1899), p. 451; A. Silvestre de Sacy, *Histoire des rois de la Perse de la dynastie des Sassanides, traduite du persan de Mirkhond* (Paris, 1793). The Sassanian monarchy lasted for 425 years, from A.D. 226 to 651, when the last king Yezdegerd III died.

[2] See A. Odobesco, *Gazette archéologique*, 1886, p. 74.

Hellenistic descent and partly derived from Mesopotamia. A great part of the sculptures that remain date from the time of Khosru Parviz [1], an interesting transitional period in which we can mark an anticipation of the Saracenic style, in the treatment of the half acanthus-leaf with its parallel lines engraved in close propinquity. The minor glyptic arts are well represented by the coins and the engraved gems, which are sometimes of considerable merit, but as a class are conventional and do not attain to distinction. Sassanian engravers were, however, capable of fine work, for an onyx cameo in the Cabinet des Médailles representing

FIG. 42. Sassanian sculpture at Tak-i-Bostan. (After Flandin and Coste, vol. i, pl. xiv.)

Sapor capturing Valerian [2] is extremely vigorous, while the crystal cameo of Khosru Parviz in the same collection, set in the centre of the jewelled cup or bowl called after that monarch, is also excellent in its kind [3]. The body of this cup, consisting of a kind of open-work inlaid *à jour* with crystals and coloured stones, is itself a proof of the skill attained by contemporary Persian jewellers, a skill which can be inferred from other objects—such as the inlaid girdle-plate found

[1] A. Riegl, *Stilfragen*, pp. 298 ff. Prof. Strzygowski places some of the sculptured capitals earlier. He shows the importance of the Greek settlers in Mesopotamia to the development of Sassanian art. (*Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1903, p. 171; and 1904, pp. 356–357.) M. Salomon Reinach (*Revue archéologique*, 1901, p. 40) traces a considerable Scythic influence in Sassanian art.

[2] E. Babelon, *Catalogue des camées antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1897), no. 360 on pl. xlii.

[3] Best reproduced by M. Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse*, vol. v, pl. xxii (in colours); and E. Babelon, as above, pl. xlv.

at Wolfsheim[1], and the remarkable enamelled ewer of St. Maurice d'Agaune. The influence of the Persian workers in metal seems indeed to have been far-reaching, for, through the extended commercial relations of the time, portable things of intrinsic value or beauty were exported both to the east and west, and among these jewels and the finer kinds of metal-work were naturally prominent. The famous treasures of Nagy-Szent-Miklos and Petrossa both exhibit Persian affinities, showing how far beyond the frontiers the influence of the Sassanian kingdom extended. The silk textiles for which Persia had rapidly become famous, and in the manufacture of which she preceded and rivalled the Byzantine Empire, were equally ubiquitous; and representatives of these two arts of weaving and metal-working had reached China by the sixth century[2]. In discussing the question of the origin of inlaid jewellery, we have already touched upon the part played in its dissemination by Sassanian work, and it seems probable that in this, as in the case of textile art, Persia was the transmitter of old Oriental methods and designs which later became extremely popular in Europe[3]. Coming into contact with Indian and Turki civilisations on their eastern and northern frontiers, the Persians evidently felt the influence of both; and their conflicts with a people like the Ephthalite Huns cannot have been altogether without result upon their culture.

Sassanian Silversmith's Work.

The silver vessels of Sassanian character naturally shared in the destinies of the metal-work to which allusion has been made, and seem to have been largely exported beyond the Persian frontier. They now form a considerable group which has been studied by several writers, but never published as a whole with adequate illustrations; and until the appearance of the exhaustive monograph in preparation by the Russian Imperial Archaeological Commission, the valuable material dispersed in so many places will not be really available for purposes of comparison. Such a *corpus* is the more needed because the majority of the objects can only be dated by their style and by individual peculiarities of development; only a few offer any precise indications of the century in which they were manufactured. Two or three have upon them representations of Persian kings who can be identified by a comparison with coins and monuments, but these can be counted on the fingers of one hand, and the Museum is therefore fortunate in possessing one of them

[1] *See* above, p. 28. For the enamelled ewer *see* E. Aubert, *Le Trésor de Saint-Maurice d'Agaune*, and M. Dieulafoy, as above, vol. v, pp. 158, 159.

[2] Metal ewers recalling those of Nagy-Szent-Miklos, and a Chinese silk textile reproducing a popular Sassanian design in almost every detail, were formerly preserved in the Temple of Horiuji at Nara, Japan, and are now in the Tokio Museum. (Strzygowski, as above, 1903, p. 171.) The textile is finely reproduced by Dr. J. Lessing in the first part of his *Gewebesammlung des k. Kunstgewerbemuseums, Berlin.*

[3] For jewellery *see* above, pp. 27 and 28. For the textiles found in the shrines of early mediaeval saints *see* Lessing, as above; F. Fischbach, *Die wichtigsten Webeornamente bis zum 19ten Jahrhundert*, Series i; and C. Cahier and A. Martin, *Mélanges d'archéologie*, vol. ii, pp. 101–105, and pp. 233 ff., with coloured plates (Paris, 1851 and 1853). For metal-work, *see* Strzygowski, as above, 1904, p. 359.

(no. 187). With regard to the rest, there is some latitude for speculation; for although the finest examples, from their resemblance to coins and sculptures, must fall within the Sassanian period, others deviate sufficiently in style and subject to raise suspicions that their date may be rather later. The victorious Arabs were slow in substituting a new style for that which had been established in Persia for several hundred years, and it is probable that silver, in the Sassanian style, and sometimes bearing Pehlevi inscriptions, continued to be produced during the first centuries of Mohammedan dominion[1], as may also have been the case with silk textiles. It is, therefore, almost impossible to say to what precise century objects of this kind belong, and only the most careful comparison of the scanty existing material is likely to throw any important light upon the subject. The place of their manufacture is also difficult to determine. As Ctesiphon was the first capital of the new Persian monarchy, it is probable that silver vessels, like other objects of luxury, came, at any rate at the beginning of the period, from Mesopotamia, more especially as the neighbouring Byzantine province of Syria was famous for its silversmith's work, and the two countries influenced each other in this as in other branches of art. In the Sassanian period both Persia and Syria exported silver plate in considerable quantities to the north-east of Europe, as we know more particularly from the frequent discoveries of silver vessels in the provinces of Perm and Viatka in Russia, where they were traded for the rich furs of the north. A very considerable proportion, both of the Byzantine and Sassanian silver dishes now preserved, have been found during agricultural operations on the Stroganoff estates in Perm, and such discoveries even yet continue[2]. During the early centuries of our era the barbarian chiefs were always eager to acquire silver plate, which they used both in their religious ceremonies and for the service of the table. Historians have often noted this peculiarity, which, it will be remembered, was strongly marked in the case of the great conqueror Attila. Priscus has recorded the wealth of silver at the Hunnish court; and the interest which Attila showed in the fate of certain silver vessels from the church of Sirmium affected for many years his relations with the Byzantine Empire[3].

The association of Persian and Syro-Byzantine vessels in the soil of Perm is fortuitous, for they probably reached that country by different routes; but a real connexion between the workers in silver in the two countries is indicated by a silver dish or salver now in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, and described in an important monograph by three Russian archaeologists[4]. This salver, which is ornamented with Christian subjects, shows Sassanian influence in some of its details, and M. Smirnoff is of opinion that it was produced by a Syrian craftsman working on Persian soil, probably in the sixth or seventh century.

Although Mesopotamia, with its ancient artistic traditions, was doubtless the most active centre of manufacture, it need not have been the only one, nor need Western

[1] J. Smirnoff, *Materials*, 1899 (essay on a Syrian silver dish found in the government of Perm, p. 7).

[2] For references *see* note to no. 187.

[3] T. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. ii (1880), pp. 54, 66.

[4] *Materials*, 1899.

influences alone have affected Persia during the Sassanian period. For in India a new art had then reached perfection, which followed the Buddhist missionaries across the Hindu Kush within the confines of Iran. Buddhist caves, decorated both by sculpture and painting, have been found not only at Bamian but far away to the west upon the banks of the Murghab[1]. In the seventh century the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen Thsang found some two hundred monasteries with three thousand monks at Balkh; and it is evident from his account that Buddhist art in Bactria had then attained a high development. He relates that artists from Bactria had been employed to decorate monasteries in Gandhara, which would indicate that these western Buddhist colonies enjoyed a high reputation in their mother country. Possibly the external influences, to which their advanced geographical position must have exposed them, may have grafted new elements on their style, and such men as the Persian painter Mani (fl. c. A.D. 240), who lived chiefly in Western Turkestan, may well have been in active sympathy with this immigrant Indian art[2]. The relations between the courts of Sassanian kings and Indian princes must have been continuous, and in the case of Khosru II (A.D. 591–628) and Pulikêsi II A.D. 609–640) they are not only attested by the Mohammedan historians[3], but probably commemorated in the remarkable fresco in Cave no. 1 at Ajanta in Khandesh, Central India. Here an embassy of Persians to an Indian prince is clearly represented, and the envoys are distinguished by their costume from the persons who compose the native court[4]. The frescoes in this cave are attributed to the sixth century, and Mr. Fergusson concluded with great probability that the sender of the embassy is no other than Khosru II, commonly known as Khosru Parviz. Other figures in Persian costume are frequent in the decoration of the same cave; and though the grace and freedom of the Ajanta drawings are probably of indigenous growth, some details in their design reveal indebtedness to the art of Western nations. The political and cultural relations between India and Persia at this time were sufficiently close to have affected not only the major but also the minor arts, and of this fact the beautiful silver bowl of the present series (no. 191) affords a most interesting example. Whether he lived and worked in India itself, or beyond the borders of his native country, the man who made it must have belonged to the same school as the painters of the first Ajanta Cave, and like them have been familiar with the physical type and the costumes of Persia. As on the western frontier of the Sassanian monarchy we found an interaction of Persian and foreign ideas, so it probably was on the east; and if this bowl is an example of what Indian silversmiths could do, it is much to be deplored that more work of the same quality has not been preserved. We may well wish for a better representation among the smaller objects of that wonderful early Indian

[1] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., vol. xviii, pp. 92 ff., and pp. 323 ff.

[2] J. Griffiths, *The Paintings of the Buddhist Cave-temples at Ajanta* (London, 1896), introduction.

[3] For the reported relations of Bahram Gur with India, and for other instances of contact between the two countries, *see* A. Silvestre de Sacy, *Histoire des rois de Perse de la dynastie des Sassanides*, pp. 333–338, 374, &c. (Paris, 1793).

[4] Griffiths, vol. i, pl. v.

art which flourished between the beginning of our era and the time when the growth of a rigid caste system destroyed its natural vigour and charm under the influence of extravagant hieratic conventions. The discoveries of Dr. Stein in the sands of Eastern Turkestan have revealed to us how far the outposts of Buddhist culture extended towards China; it is a matter for regret that similar explorations cannot be conducted in the neighbourhood of its advanced posts, such as Balkh, in

FIG. 43. Painting in the First Cave at Ajanta. (After J. Griffiths, *Paintings of the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta* (London, 1896), vol. ii, pl. 95.)

the west, where it came into contact with the later art of Iran and with that of the northern nomad peoples.

Before these few remarks upon Sassanian art, as exemplified by the silversmith's work, are brought to a close, reference must be made to one or two other very remarkable silver vessels. These objects, though produced either in Sassanian workshops, or by workmen ruled by Sassanian conventions, afford further illustration of the penetration of foreign influences into Iran. They show at the same time both the survival of ancient cults and the intrusion of fancies more allied to Hinduism

or to the debased Buddhism of the Mahayana than to the purer Buddhist style of Ajanta and Gandhara. One of these is the dish in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris, with the goddess Nana-Anat and her votaries, to which certain ewers in the Stroganoff Collections seem to be allied[1], others are the three silver bowls—two in the Stroganoff Collections and one in the British Museum—representing a four-armed goddess wearing a crenelated Persian crown[2]. It would be venturesome even to guess exactly at what time or in what places these remarkable objects were made; for under an orthodox dynasty like the Sassanian, there would seem to be little place for exotic divinities. It is true that Anaïtis (*see* above, p. 44) had been established in Iran in Achaemenian times, and that she is thought to appear upon the coins of Indo-Scythian princes of the first centuries of our era[3]; but the persistence of her representations in or near the territories of a line of strict fire-worshippers, on objects which are not likely to be older than the sixth century, would argue a survival of a very remarkable character. The presence of the four-armed goddess, who is also found upon the same class of Indo-Scythian coins, and whose type is allied to that of Siva, is hardly less strange: it may indicate the early influence of the wild Mongolian taste which produced the monstrous forms of northern Buddhism. For it is difficult to believe that anything of this kind can have come out of India, at any rate before the seventh century; for up to that time, as we have seen, the pure traditions of early Buddhist art were predominant. It is unnecessary to dwell at length upon these problems, which affect phases or offshoots of the art to which our silver dishes belong rather than the objects themselves; but it may be said that before the irruption of Mohammedanism, and possibly for some time after it, Bactria preserved its old character of a frontier region penetrable by various cultures and threatened by successive types of barbarism. It may be that the region which yielded the silver dish from Badakshan[4] in which classical influence is still apparent, continued to practise the silversmith's craft under the various dominations to which it was subjected; and that the superstitions which survived, or found new entrance in spite of the purer teaching of Zoroaster and Sakya-Muni, provided some of the subjects which were perpetuated by their art.

Sassanian Costume and Equipment.

In conclusion, a few of the archaeological details upon the Sassanian objects may be more particularly noticed. Of the costume of this period we know less than might

[1] *Gazette archéologique*, vol. x, 1885, pp. 286–296, and pl. 33, vol. xi (1886), pp. 1–15 and 71–86: *La Coupe d'argent de la déesse Nana-Anat*, by M. A. Odobesco.

[2] J. R. Aspelin, *Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien* (Helsingfors), vol. ii, p. 147, no. 620: this is the example now in the British Museum. On these bowls *see* also O. Boehtlingk in *Bulletin de l'Académie impériale des sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg*, vol. iv (1848), pp. 148 ff. Ch. de Linas, *Origines de l'orfèvrerie cloisonnée*, vol. ii, pp. 358, 359, and 370, and L. Stephani, *Compte rendu*, 1878-9, p. 148.

[3] *Gaz. arch.*, as above, p. 8. A. von Sallet, *Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien*, pp. 204, 210, 211; Wilson, *Ariana antiqua*, pp. 357–364 and pls.

[4] G. Birdwood, *The Industrial Arts of India*, pl. ii, p. 144; and A. Odobesco, *Le Trésor de Pétrossa*, vol. i, p. 502, fig. 207 *a*.

be expected, as the monuments large and small mostly confine themselves to representation of the kings and their attendants. The royal costume is illustrated by the silver dish (no. 187) and is described at length by various writers[1]. It was essentially the old Persian dress of tunic and long trousers, but it had been characteristically modified by the addition of numerous ribbons or bands with fluttering ends, the largest of which, that tied round the waist, perhaps represented the ancient Kosti or sacred girdle (*see* above, p. 47). The royal crown usually has the crenelated form which we have already observed in Achaemenian times (*see* note to no. 1), but it received additions in the shape of crescents and spherical ornaments, the various combinations of which characterize different monarchs. The old hood with its long side-pieces disappears during the period in favour of a rounded or conical cap (Kolah), but a head-dress approximating to the earlier type is seen on the coins of the first princes of the dynasty. The costume of the common people doubtless consisted of the familiar tunic and trousers, with a cap of this simpler form, such as is seen upon contemporary textiles.

The weapons of offence and defence were in general similar to those of ancient Persia and of Parthia: coats of mail and large shields protected the warrior in battle: 'composite' bows (*see* p. 56) and spears continued in use. But a striking change appears in the sword, which is now long and straight with a plain cross-hilt, very like that of the weapon employed in our own time by the Arabs of the Soudan. It differs altogether from the short sword of Assyria, and from the sword-dagger of Achaemenian Persia and Scythia (*see* p. 54), while it has little resemblance to the Greek or the Roman weapon. Its nearest analogy would seem to be the Byzantine arm, which was fairly long and straight, and was also furnished with a cross-hilt. It would be interesting to know whether there was any direct relation between the two; and, supposing one to have influenced the other, from which side the influence proceeded. It may be noted that the long straight swords of the European iron age had no effective guard, a deficiency which was not remedied until Viking times; it is therefore possible that Persia may have introduced this type of guard which she herself received from some Asiatic source. Other innovations in Iranian equipment after the fall of the Achaemenian dynasty, are saddles and stirrups, both of which are clearly seen on the silver dish in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (Kondakoff, p. 416; Odobesco, *Trésor de Pétrossa*, vol. ii, p. 55, fig. 71 *c*), though they are not by any means distinct on no. 187, pl. xxiv. It has already been mentioned (p. 61) that the stirrup was unknown to the Persians of the ancient Empire and to the contemporary Greeks; it may be added here that the Romans were equally ignorant of its use, and that Caius Gracchus supplied the streets of Rome with mounting-blocks for riders[2]. It appears to have been introduced into Europe by the mounted barbaric peoples after the overthrow of the Roman Empire in the West; and the first literary evidence for the metal type[3] occurs in the *Art of War* of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice (A. D.

[1] Nöldeke, as above, p. 453; Dieulafoy, as above, vol. v, p. 139.

[2] Plutarch, *C. Gracchus*, vii.

[3] Possibly a leather loop preceded the metal stirrup. *See* R. Zschille and R. Forrer, *Die Steigbügel in ihrer Formen-Entwicklung* (Berlin, 1896), p. 1.

582–602), who definitely mentions iron stirrups (σκάλαι)[1]. It has been conjectured that as stirrups have been found in tombs in Siberia, and are mentioned in a Chinese work of A. D. 477, they may have come into the Persian and Byzantine Empires from Central Asia[2]. Within the limits of Europe they seem to have spread from east to west, and to have been in general use by about the year 600, for they are mentioned by Isidore of Seville, who died in A. D. 636.

The Trustees are indebted to the Society of Antiquaries of London for the use of the blocks nos. 10, 15, 50 and 67.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

[2] Ibid., p. 2.

A. THE TREASURE OF THE OXUS

I. Objects in the Round.

1. SILVER STATUETTE, cast and chased parcel-gilt: a man standing with his *r.* arm hanging by his side, and holding in his *l.* hand a bundle of rods before his breast. He has a long narrow beard, moustache and whiskers, and heavy eyebrows; the eyes are large and the nose is regular in outline. He wears a short jacket with close sleeves gilded in front and ornamented with hatched vandykes, and a long skirt reaching to the ankles, supported by a girdle also gilded in front and vandyked: down the front of the body, from the girdle to the ankles, runs a raised gilded band with a herring-bone pattern, and representing an ornamental border on the skirt (cf. fig. 28).

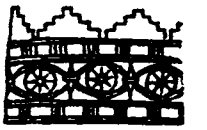


FIG. 44. Detail from the crown of Darius at Behistun. (From a photograph by Mr. L. W. King.)

On the head is a low cylindrical head-dress with flat top, covering the ears and bound with two raised fillets, the uppermost of which has a knot at the back with two pendent ends. Round the top is a flat band of gold engraved with crenelations. Below the head-dress, the hair issues in a roll conventionally ornamented with dotted circles. On the feet are boots or shoes apparently fastening in front. Both feet are pierced at the instep.

Plate II.

H. 5·9 in. 14·8 cm.

Cunningham[1], pl. xi; Kondakoff, p. 338, fig. 299.

From a comparison with Persian cylinders (F. Lajard, *Introduction à l'étude du culte public et des mystères de Mithra* (Paris, 1847), pl. xix, fig. 3; J. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, &c., vol. iv, p. 321; A. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, pl. i, figs. 11, 13, and 16), it is probable that this figure is a king of the Achaemenian dynasty. The pleated skirt is indeed worn not only by the king, but also by courtiers and royal archers. Cf. figs. 9 and 13, and Flandin and Coste, iii, pl. 147, 154–157; but the crenelations on the gold band surrounding the tiara seem to be an indication of royal rank. Although the serrated crown is more common on Achaemenian gems and coins, there is evidence that the crenelated form was used by the kings of the ancient dynasty, for Mr. L. W. King of the British Museum, who recently examined the rock sculptures and inscriptions of Behistun, observed that the royal head-dress, generally represented as serrated, really has crenelations (fig. 44). This style of tiara may have descended from earlier times, for a female figure on one of the reliefs from the palace of Assur-bani-pal, in the British Museum, wears a crenelated diadem and a garment with a border of similar design (Dieulafoy, *Suse*, p. 270, fig. 150); while the fire-altar with crenelated top, which is thought to have suggested the head-dresses of certain Sassanian kings (cf. no. 187 and fig. 76, and *see* Lenormant in Cahier and Martin, *Mélanges d'archéologie*, vol. iii, pp. 131–132), may all be seen on a relief from Khorsabad; the form is therefore no proof of late date. There is a certain resemblance

between the fillet here seen and those worn by Parthian kings upon their coins, especially Mithradates II, and Artabanus II, and many of their later successors (British Museum, *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, by W. Wroth, 1903, pl. viii, figs. 10, 11; ix, fig. 1, &c.); but these are probably also descendants of an earlier type (cf. no. 114). The remaining details of the costume correspond with those of the Achaemenian period; while the bundle of rods held in the hand, if it represents the *barsom* (*see* p. 46 and note to no. 48), as seems probable, would have no significance in the case of a Parthian prince. It may be noted that in the succeeding number, which must be Achaemenian, the bundle of rods is closely analogous.

FIG. 45. Back of silver statuette (no. 1).

2. GOLD STATUETTE of a bearded man, cast and chased: the face is thin and skilfully modelled, the nose small and straight, and the hair cut short across the forehead (cf. no. 6). He wears a garment reaching to the knees, and over this a long coat with pendent empty sleeves and broad borders, probably representing fur, which extend into a triangle between the shoulders. On his head is the hood-like cap (*see* p. 48), covering the ears and with a 'tail' at the back; the upper part is high and flattened into a semi-circle, like the cap of no. 4, while across the chin is a broad band extending to the lower lip. Of the hands, the right is alone visible, and holds over the breast a bundle of rods partially concealed by a kind of covering with punched ornament.

The figure terminates in an irregular plate, the feet not being shown.

Plate XII.

H. 2·2 in. 5·6 cm. Weight 580 grains.

The man here represented must be a personage of importance, possibly a magus. We know that the magi wore the hood-like cap, and that either a part of the cap or a separate band covered their mouths (*see* p. 48). The long garment with the sleeves hanging empty seems to correspond with the candys as described by Xenophon (*see* p. 51), and seen upon the sculptures of Persepolis and Lycia (figs. 9 and 37). With its fur border as here seen its use must have been confined to persons of rank: the coin of Phahaspes or Phrataphernes (?) (*see* fig. 32 and note to no. 105) shows a garment having a similar border. The principal figure in the chariot (no. 7), though its details are not very clearly rendered, seems to wear a similar candys. On the bundle of rods, probably the *bareçman* or *barsom*, *see* p. 46 and note to no. 48; its presence here seems to favour the assumption that the personage is a magus rather than a prince or satrap, though its appearance in no. 1 makes this uncertain. The date of this statuette is probably Achaemenian, on account of the empty-sleeved candys, which is a garment belonging to that period, and its relationship with the figure in no. 7; for the car, from the place which it occupies in the evolution of the chariot, must also be of the time of the older monarchy.

Sir Wollaston Franks obtained a second statuette, almost an exact replica of this (Cunningham[2], pl. vi. A); but the over-decoration of the garments and the misunderstanding of certain details seemed to condemn it as an imitation of the present example. A third example, showing similar characteristics, is in a collection of oriental gems and gold objects deposited by Major-General Pearse in the India Museum at South Kensington.

3. SILVER STATUETTE, cast and chased: a man with cropped beard and curly hair, wearing a short-sleeved tunic girded at the waist, and holding a staff in both hands. His legs and feet are bare.

Plate II.

H. 3·5 in. 8·9 cm.

The statuette is not of Greek workmanship. Possibly the figure is performing some agricultural operation such as threshing.

4. SILVER STATUETTE, cast and chased. Nude figure of a youth standing erect with the elbows close to the sides and both forearms extended: the clenched hands are pierced with vertical holes and evidently held some objects now lost. The legs, which are of disproportionate length, are close together, and the feet rest upon a small rectangular plinth itself supported by a plinth of larger size. A high gold head-dress has been fitted over the hair, which projects in a roll across the forehead; and the lobes of the ears are pierced for ear-rings now wanting. The head has been separately cast, and is neatly joined at the neck. The figure is heavy, and the casting must be nearly, if not quite, solid.

Plate II.

H. 11·5 in. 29·2 cm. From the collection of General Sir Alexander Cunningham.

Cunningham[1], pl. xiii, fig. 3.

The character of this figure is barbaric, and it is one of those objects which may have been produced in Eastern Iran. The pierced ears and the manner in which the hair is worn under the cap recall the Persian fashion seen in no. 191, which is, however, a work of far finer quality and of much later date. The form of the gold cap at the top resembles that of the small gold statuette (no. 2), and the work as a whole is probably of the later Achaemenian period. The great length of the legs, and the doubling of the plinth, suggest that the figure may have stood behind something, and had to be lengthened in order that the upper part of the body might be seen above it. Conceivably the obstacle may have been the front of a chariot, and the hands may have held the reins, for the figure leans slightly back, as if resisting some force exerted from the front. But a comparison with the gold plaques, nos. 86, &c., makes it perhaps rather more probable that the objects held were birds or flowers, possibly votive offerings, and in addition it may be remembered that oriental charioteers are always clothed (cf. no. 7).

5. GOLD HEAD of a beardless man, hollow. The nose is slightly aquiline and the superciliary ridges prominent. The eyes are widely opened, and the pupils are punched circles. The hair is represented by a multitude of wavy punched lines, all commencing from a single point on the crown. The lobes of the ears are pierced by a square perforation, and in the right lobe are the remains of a plug with a ring at the end. Seen from the top, this head is almost circular. The back of the neck is damaged by a long almost vertical cut.

Plate III.

H. 4·45 in. 11·3 cm. Weight 12⅛ oz.

This head is also one of the objects which may have been made in the east of Iran, as it has no qualities which connect it with Persian or Greek art, and its affinities perhaps lie in the direction of India (*see* p. 63). Craniologically it recalls the head of a Galcha, and the general characteristics are allied to those of the round-headed people principally settled in and around the Pamirs.

6. GOLD HEAD of a beardless man, hollow, with broad face and small features. The hair is cut horizontally along the forehead, and is long at the back of the neck. The top and back of the head are covered by close rows of short punched vertical lines which may represent a head-covering. On the crown is punched a circular depression surrounded by eight circular holes, the whole forming a rosette: possibly the depression and the holes were once filled by gems, the whole representing the central ornament of a cap (cf. no. 25). Three slots, cut one above each ear and one at the back of the head, are probably intended to hold plumes.

Plate II.

H. 1 in. 2·5 cm. Weight 223 grains.

This head is a product of the same art as the preceding, and the style of decorated head-dress suggested by the perforations is a further indication of Indian or Central Asian influence, though the circular medallion (no. 25), the ornament of which is Persian, seems to have been worn on the top of the head.

7. GOLD CHARIOT, drawn by four horses abreast, and containing a standing charioteer and a royal or noble personage seated. It is open at the back and square in front, where it is ornamented with two incised bands in saltire with vandyked design, and having over all a head of Bes. The greater part of the bottom is ornamented with cross-hatching, and along the bottom of the sides is a band divided by vertical lines. The wheels have nine spokes, and the tires are studded with pellets to represent large nails.

In the interior (*see* fig. 41) a narrow gold plate runs from front to back, and on this is seated the principal personage. He wears a long garment reaching to the ankles, the sleeves of which appear to hang empty (*see* p. 51 and cf. no. 2 and fig. 9), and a hood, round the front of which is a flat strip of gold representing a fillet, with projecting ends above the forehead: round his neck is a collar of gold wire. The charioteer wears a similar cap without fillet, a short girded tunic and a wire collar: his legs are formed of two thick pieces of wire bent over at the ends to form the feet.

The four horses are connected by a single yoke, to which they are harnessed by breast-straps. Upon the yoke above each horse is a loop through which the wire reins pass; and alternating with these loops are vertical ornaments representing plumes. The yoke is connected with a pair of shafts, within which the two innermost horses stand. The bits have large rings at the sides, and each animal has on the breast a martingale with pendent tassel, though this is not added but punched in the metal forming the bodies.

The two figures are both fixed to the chariot by wires passing through holes in the bottom and doubled over beneath. In the case of the driver, these wires are attached to a small plate connecting his feet; in the case of the seated person, they are longer and pass through the seat as well.

The horses have only nine remaining legs between them, and the spokes of one wheel are imperfect.

Plate IV. Fig. 41.

L. 3·5 in. 18·8 cm. Weight 2 oz. 15 grains.

Oscar Nuoffer, *Der Rennwagen im Altertum* (Leipzig, 1904), pl. viii, fig. 48.

This was not the only model chariot in the Oxus Treasure. A second, belonging to the Earl of Lytton (fig. 11), is reproduced, with modifications, by Cunningham (Cunningham[1], pl. xii, fig. 8), and by Kondakoff, p. 397, fig. 298. The Earl of Lytton's example has lost all the horses, but no. 8 in the collection is said to have once belonged to it. The figure seen in Cunningham[1], pl. xiii, fig. 2, is also the property of Lord Lytton.

These small chariots are of great interest in connexion with the development of forms in the war- and hunting-chariots of Hither Asia; and, with the examples depicted on sculptures, coins, cylinders, mosaics, afford almost the only evidence which we possess upon the vehicles in the Achaemenian period. Remarks on the peculiarities of the model and its place in the historical sequence of Asiatic chariots will be found in the Introduction, p. 58 above. For the costume of the principal personage *see* note to no. 2.

8. GOLD HORSE, hammered from two plates soldered together, leaving the body hollow: the legs alone are solid. The head-stall and reins are of applied wire with circles at the junctions; and where the straps cross over the face there is a lozenge setting. The mane is gathered into a plume on the top of the head, which is well modelled, though the work of the body is rude.

Plate XII.

L. 1·7 in. 4·3 cm. Weight 93 grains.

From the collection of General Sir Alexander Cunningham.

This horse is said to have belonged to Lord Lytton's chariot (fig. 11), and was used by Cunningham to complete his representation of it.

9. GOLD HORSE'S HEAD, cast and chased: one side imperfect.

Plate II.

L. 1·2 in. 3·1 cm. Weight 666 grains.

Cunningham[1], pl. xiii, fig. 4.

10. SILVER HANDLE from a vessel, parcel-gilt. It is in the form of an ibex standing upon a flat tablet within curved sides, and resting its bent knees against a curved bar formerly affixed to the rim of the vessel. The animal is treated throughout in a conventional manner: the hair on the body is represented by broad gilt bands parted in the middle on back and breast, by gilt semi-circles upon the shoulders, and by close curls on the forehead symmetrically disposed: the long beard is also gilt. The horns, which are gilded and flat on the inner sides, are divided into six sections by transverse raised bands each consisting of three parallel lines, and beneath these runs a single vertical band following the contour of the horn. On the shoulders amidst the gilded hair, and on the thighs, are gilded circles in low relief: and on the fore-legs above the knee are gilded drop-shaped figures with bifurcating ends, all probably forming part of a conventional system of representing the muscles (*see* above, p. 31). The ears, eyes, and hoofs are all gilded. The ribs are indicated by a series of parallel channels on either flank, and beneath the hollow body is a rectangular aperture. On the

FIG. 46. Palmette on no. 10.

outer side of the tablet on which the animal stands, which is gilt, is a palmette (*see* fig. 46).

Plate V.

L. 8·3 in. 21 cm.

This object should be compared with the parcel-gilt silver handles in the Louvre and in the Berlin Museum (Fröhner, *La Collection Tyszkiewicz, Choix de monuments*, pl. iii; and *Jahrbuch d. k. deutschen Arch. Instituts, Arch. Anzeiger*, 1892, p. 113); also with a rhyton at St. Petersburg, *Compte rendu*, 1880, Atlas, pl. i, fig. 5. All three objects represent winged goats, and the localities for the first two are given as Amisos and Armenia, the third was found in South Russia. The Paris and Berlin handles have been assigned to the second half of the fifth century B.C. (*Jahrbuch*, as above, *Antike Gemmen*, vol. iii, p. 118); and the rhyton must be equally early. The present handle, though the conventional Asiatic treatment is very strongly marked, is probably later and must be considered as Persian work of the fourth century. The ibex is a favourite animal in art, partly for its supposed prophylactic qualities. *See Compte rendu* as above, 1879, p. 146; O. Keller, *Thiere des classischen Alterthums in culturhistorischer Beziehung* (Innsbruck, 1887), p. 40; Goodyear, *Grammar of the Lotus*, pp. 232 ff. The figures in Cunningham[3], pl. xxi. G, and Kondakoff, p. 288, are from a gold forgery.

11. GOLD STAG, cast hollow and finished with a punch, by which the muscles are conventionally indicated. Both the fore and the hind-legs are connected by flat transverse plates, each pierced with two holes for attachment to a flat surface. The horns and ears have been cast separately and soldered in position. A punched whorl seems to represent the hair of the breast, while that of the back is indicated by a long band of herring-bone. The eyes and forehead have been inlaid, probably with coloured stones.

Plate VI.

L. 2·2 in. 5·5 cm. Weight 380 grains.

Cunningham[1], pl. xv, fig. 6; Kondakoff, p. 343, fig. 303. From the collection of General Sir Alexander Cunningham.

This and the following number may be compared with somewhat similar figures in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (Kondakoff, figs. 335–338 on pp. 381–383), and with the smaller gold stag in the present collection (no. 13). The conventional markings representing the muscles should be compared with those of other objects in the collection, e.g. the armilla (no. 116), the end of an armlet (no. 136), as well as with those on the Lion Frieze at Susa (Dieulafoy, *Suse*, pl. iii). On the wide distribution of this conventional method and its probable connexion with inlaid jewellery, *see* above, p. 31.

The whorl upon the animal's breast is probably an attempt to render the actual appearance of the hair, and possibly the whorl-marks upon the flanks of a lion at Nimrûd (Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i, p. 76) and of Sassanian lions, as seen upon silver work and textiles of the period, may descend from some such naturalistic origin. On the significance of the stag as an emblem of longevity see *Compte rendu*, 1863, p. 140; 1865, pp. 73, 89, 186; 1869, p. 6, &c. It was a favourite subject in Graeco-Scythian and Scythian art.

12. GOLD STAG, cast hollow, and standing upon a flat rectangular plate pierced round the edges with twenty-two holes for attachment. The anatomical and superficial features are indicated, as in the last example, by punching, and the lower jaw is modelled into a horn-shaped ornamental band. Holes remain in

which horns, now missing, have been placed. The legs have been separately cast and soldered in position.

Plate VI.

L. 2·5 in. 6·3 cm. Weight 910 grains.

Cunningham[1], pl. xv, fig. 7; Kondakoff, p. 344, fig. 304. From the collection of General Sir Alexander Cunningham.

On the conventional representation of muscles see the preceding number, which belongs to the same class as the present figure. The peculiar treatment of the lower jaw is also seen in the case of the stags upon the silver disc (no. 24).

13. RUNNING STAG of gold, cast and chased, the feet resting upon two rectangular plates each pierced with two holes for attachment.

Plate XXI.

L. 1·3 in. 3·25 cm. Weight 134 grains.

This little figure is very natural and artistic, and shows no traces of the conventional Persian treatment. Similar gold stags, standing in the same manner on pierced plates, are in the Scythian Gallery at the Hermitage, St. Petersburg; cf. Kondakoff, p. 381, fig. 335.

14. HEAD OF A LION-GRYPHON, silver, with widely-opened mouth. It is hollow at the back, forming an almond-shaped cavity pierced in the middle of each side-edge by a silver pin, as if for attachment. The crest of the monster is a solid rib curled up at the end over the forehead. Below the high pointed ears are two horizontal projections.

Plate II.

L. 1·2 in. 3 cm.

For the lion-gryphon see note to no. 23. The present example is without the characteristic Persian horns, and may be compared with the monster on a chalcedony cone in the Hermitage given by Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. lxii, fig. 8.

From the contour of the back, this object would seem to have been once applied to a curved surface, possibly the rim of a vessel.

15. SILVER GOOSE, cast and tooled: the eyes are inlaid with gold, the feathers indicated by punched dots and lines. The feet are rudely represented by ribs upon the flat base on which the bird stands, and the legs are not divided. On the chest is a stud in the centre of a slightly raised rectangle.

Plate VI.

L. 4·25 in. 10·7 cm.

Geese are found upon the gold plaque (no. 47); *see* note to that number.

16. GOLD FISH, hollow, and embossed from a flat plate. The scales are indicated by regular imbrications and the fins are punched with close parallel lines. On the mouth is an inner lining with a thickened edge, as if the fish had served as a flask or bottle, and had once been fitted with a stopper. Above the left fin is an applied loop for suspension.

Plate VI.

L. 9·5 in. 24·2 cm. Weight 15⅞ oz.

Cunningham[1], pl. xv, fig. 8; Kondakoff, p. 352, fig. 309. From the collection of General Sir Alexander Cunningham.

The hair beneath the chin of this fish suggests that it belongs to the barbel species. The fish occurs in the early Graeco-Scythian art of Southern Russia, the large fish of the Vettersfelde treasure being a remarkable example (Furtwängler, *Der Goldfund von Vettersfelde*, pl. i, and p. 27, where other examples of the employment of the fish are mentioned). There is a gold fish in the Scythian Room at the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, and another was found in one of the tumuli at Smiela in the government of Kiev (Count Bobrinsky, *Kurgans, &c., near Smiela*, vol. iii, 1901, p. 86, fig. 25). This example, like that from Vettersfelde, is flat and intended for use as an ornamental plaque. Possibly the fish was held to possess prophylactic qualities: it has been associated with various gods in the East, and the occurrence of brooches in its shape among Teutonic jewellery may be connected with its popularity in the Scythian area.

II. Vessels.

17. GOLD JUG. The oviform body with closely set horizontal flutings contracts rapidly towards the bottom, which is only 1·5 in. in diameter. The plain broad neck expands at the rim, which has for spout a channel, the end of which has been cut off. The handle is octagonal in section expanding into a circular rosette, and is soldered and riveted to the side: its upper end is in the form of a lion's head represented as biting the rim.

Plate I. (Frontispiece.)

H. 5·1 in. 13 cm. Weight 11⅛ oz.

The lion's head upon the handle should be compared with those upon some of the armlets, e. g. nos. 117–120. These in their turn resemble the lions' heads on the gold collar in the Louvre found by the French Delegation at Susa (*see* fig. 69, p. 110).

18. SHALLOW GOLD BOWL, embossed from within with ornament in two concentric circles. In the centre is a circular depression forming an *omphalos* in the

FIG. 47. Gold bowl (no. 18).

interior, and surrounded by six almond-shaped bosses. Beyond, two plain ridges enclose a frieze consisting of six larger bosses of the same form alternating with pairs of rampant lions in conventional attitudes back to back.

Plate VII.

D. 4·75 in. 12·1 cm. Weight 1,135 grains.

The purely conventional representations of lions on this bowl recall those of the Assyrian sculptures, where, even in naturalistic scenes like lion-hunts, the animals are treated according to certain fixed conventions: in the present case such schematic treatment is more naturally to be expected, the design being purely decorative. Similar conventional attitudes occur upon cylinders; *see* J. Menant, *Glyptique orientale* (Paris, 1883–1886), vol. ii, p. 153, and Menant and de Clercq, *La Collection de Clercq*, nos. 362, 370, and 370 *bis*.

The almond-shaped lobes may be compared with those of no. 180 and of the silver bowl in

the Louvre almost identical with it, as well as with those on a silver disc found in a tomb near Kertch (*Compte rendu*, 1880, p. 223, Atlas, pl. iii, fig. 5). Their possible connexion with lotus-buds is discussed in the note to no. 180.

19. SILVER BOWL, shallow; the edge and interior plain. The bottom is covered by a rosette of fifty fluted petals enclosing a central rosette of twenty petals. The bowl was probably parcel-gilt, but the surface is now so much decayed that hardly a trace of gilding is visible. A triangular fragment has been broken from the rim.

Plate V.

D. 5·7 in. 14·5 cm.

This bowl is clearly a copy of a Greek design, but the workmanship is not Greek.

20 GOLD BOWL, plain and hemispherical; the surface finished smooth.

Plate III.

D. 3·92 in. 9·9 cm. Weight 9⅝ oz.

Colonel Burton was informed that this bowl was discovered placed like a cap upon the gold head, no. 5.

21. GOLD BOWL, plain shallow bowl turned on the wheel. Much battered.

See figure.

D. 6·35 in. 16·3 cm. Weight 10½ oz.

FIG. 48. Outline of gold bowl (no. 21).

III. Embossed Objects.

(Where not otherwise stated, the metal is gold.)

22. EMBOSSED SHEATH of a dagger, terminating at the mouth in a broad curve: it has been cut into pieces, some of which are wanting, and only seven now remain. The surface is covered with scenes representing a royal lion-hunt which form a frieze along the lower part, and in the shaped panel near the mouth are disposed in two compartments, one almost rectangular, the other following the curve of the outer edge. The edges of the sheath are ornamented by conventional borders (*see* fig. 49 *b*), and the inner divisions are marked out by narrower bands, chiefly of herring-bone design.

The inner compartment of the mouth is bordered at the top by a narrow band with close transverse lines, and enclosed on the other three sides by two broader ornamental bands (fig. 49 *a*), curving round at the bottom and terminating in serpentine heads: it is divided into two parts by a horizontal band of herring-bone pattern. The lower division is chiefly formed by the spaces within the serpents' heads and necks, in each of which is a lion rampant, regardant; in the upper, two mounted kings in high tiaras ride towards the centre, and pierce with their spears a lion between them, while the winged disc is seen above. In the outer compartment is a similar scene, but the lion in the centre is rampant and

receives a thrust from both sides: beneath the lion and one of the riders, a small space bordered by a herring-bone band encloses a slain lion. Above this compartment is a smaller one, almost triangular, containing a lion rampant to *r.*

Along the sheath are five kings riding at a gallop and each shooting with a bow at a lion before him.

Just below the mouth is an applied loop with floriated ends through which a cord passed; but the weight of the dagger was principally supported by a cord inserted in a loop or hole at the top of the curved part of the mouth which is imperfect. On the method of fastening these swords to the girdle *see* above, p. 54, and cf. fig. 37.

This embossed gold plate was lapped over a wooden lining, and the four holes at the end show that it had a chape, now wanting.

Plate VIII.

a. *b.*

FIG. 49. Details from no. 22.

L. 10·9 in. 27·6 cm. Weight 20 oz. 455 grains.

This sheath, which is of the Scytho-Persian form (*see* p. 54), is one of the objects forming part of the Oxus Treasure the authenticity of which has been disputed (*see* above, p. 55). Briefly stated, the objections to it are as follows: It reproduces almost exactly some of the hunting-scenes on the friezes of Assur-bani-pal from the north palace of Kouyunjik; but while it introduces the Assyrian royal tiara and imitates the style of the sculptures with some success, it presents certain incongruities which are difficult to explain if it is to be accepted as genuine. The trousers worn by the horsemen are Persian and distinctly not Assyrian; while the feet appear to be bare, as they never are upon the friezes. It is contended that such inaccuracies could not have occurred while the Assyrian monarchy was still in existence; and that as the sculptures were buried beneath the ruins of the city shortly after the time of Assur-bani-pal, it would have been impossible for any ancient imitator, working say between the 7th and 4th centuries B.C., to have reproduced their peculiar and characteristic style with the exactitude here seen. The conclusion drawn from these facts by those who doubt the genuineness of the sheath is that it is in all probability a modern forgery made after the discovery of the Kouyunjik friezes in the middle of the nineteenth century.

These objections, which represent the opinion of trained Assyriologists, necessarily carry great weight, and it must be admitted that the arguments which can be adduced in favour of the sheath are very much less precise. Something has been said above as to the possible influence of Assyrian art upon the Scythian peoples towards the close of the Assyrian Empire and under that of the Medes, but in the absence of tangible evidence such conjectures are academical. There are, however, several points which should be remembered when the difficulties in the way of accepting the sheath are stated to be insuperable. The short form recalls that of the remarkable Graeco-Scythian sheath found at Vettersfelde in Prussia (*see* fig. 22) and held to be not later than B.C. 500. (A. Furtwängler, *Der Goldfund von Vettersfelde*, Berlin, 1883, pl. 3.) Certain other sheaths with the characteristic lateral projection at the mouth (and therefore of Scythian, not Assyrian, affinities), are ornamented with peculiar Assyrianizing designs. One was discovered by General Melgunoff in the 18th century near Elizavetgrad in the government of Cherson in South Russia (Kondakoff, pp. 291, 307; A. Maskell, *Handbook of Russian Art*, p. 112; electrotype (imperfect) in Victoria and Albert Museum), the other quite recently in the Kuban district (B. Pharma-

kovsky, in *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 1904, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, p. 100: the sheath is to be published with full illustrations in a forthcoming number of *Materials*). In both these cases the style of decoration points to a survival of Mesopotamian motives long after the fall of the Assyrian Empire. Both sheaths have the same peculiar winged monsters, and figures of Assyrian style standing on either side of the sacred tree (see figs. 26 and 38). It is true that the style of the work is different; it is bolder and rougher, and the particular archaeological inconsistencies noticed above are not present. But in many ways these sheaths are almost as difficult to explain; and their existence proves that Mesopotamian influences, the range of which we are as yet unable to define, were actually operative in the Scythian area. It may further be remarked that on the gem known as the seal of Darius in the British Museum (fig. 40; Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, pl. 1, fig. 11), the king is seen shooting from his chariot at a lion rearing upon its hind-legs very much in the vigorous style of the sculptures of Kouyunjik. The same kind of attitude may also be observed in the lions of no. 18 and of a cylinder mentioned in the note on that object. It would appear then that this style of representing animals was continued into Achaemenian times, and it is permissible to ask whether some sculptures of the Kouyunjik school may not have survived as models. Is it quite certain that the slabs discovered in the palace of Assur-bani-pal represent the total output of the sculptors of his period? If there were any others (and this is surely possible), the objection that no models in this style were accessible in ancient times would fall to the ground. It is not even necessary that they should be on a monumental scale, for one can imagine the existence of Assyrian miniature sculptured panels similar in character to the Persian example shown in fig. 7 which, though quite small and portable, faithfully reproduces the characteristic style of monumental Persepolitan art.

The ornamental borders are reproduced in fig. 49 *a* and *b*. Like the serpentine heads, they appear out of keeping with the Assyrian subjects which they enclose, and one of them produces a strange and barbaric impression. But it may be suggested that a derivation even of this design from some variety of palmette border is just conceivable in view of the slug-like forms which in a later age the disintegrated palmette sometimes assumed under the hand of Celtic craftsmen. Borders like that of the early terra-cotta sarcophagus from Clazomenae might have started a process of degeneration ultimately resulting in such a design as we see here: or the double guilloche (cf. Hamdy Bey and Th. Reinach, *Une Nécropole royale* &c., Atlas, pl. xxiv) might also have provided a point of departure. The ornament on the bands terminating in serpentine heads is more clearly derived from the palmette, and is related to such borders as that upon a Melian vase (A. Riegl, *Stilfragen*, pp. 155–157), or those upon early bronze plaques from Olympia (E. Curtius and Fr. Adler, *Olympia*, Berlin, 1890, pl. xlii, figs. 738–739). Its presence upon this sheath seems to prove that the influence of early Greek art was felt in the place where the work was executed.

If we turn to the condition in which the sheath was obtained, we may derive an argument in favour of authenticity from the fact that it has been cut up into pieces and also that some of these pieces are wanting. Colonel Burton saw the Oxus Treasure sewn up in a number of small leather bags (*see* above, p. 2), and heard that, after the usual oriental method of division, the shares of the different owners had been equalized by weight. A thin object like the sheath would lend itself particularly well to cutting up for adjusting the balance when small weights were required, and its present condition certainly suggests that such was its fate. The subtlety of oriental counterfeiters is profound: but it may be doubted whether it would go so far as to forgo a part of the vendor's profits by first ruining an object and then withholding some of the pieces into which it had been cut, in order to produce a more favourable impression upon the purchaser's mind. Certainly the forgers who sent Sir Wollaston Franks gold counterfeits of nos. 10, 24, 114, and 187 had not reached this superlative astuteness, nor does the handiwork of Rawal Pindi, except in the matter of counterfeit coins, suggest the ability to produce this sheath, which, in spite of a certain weakness in the rendering of figures in action, is yet a work of admirable finish and refinement. If it is still to be regarded as a forgery, the place of its

manufacture must be transferred to Europe, and Odessa naturally recurs to the mind as a possible place of origin. But the more notorious works of Russian forgers of antiquities are in a distinctly different style.

Finally it may be argued that a forger working from the plates of some well-known book like Botta or Layard would hardly have made the sheath in the Scythian form, and withal reproduced that form so correctly. He would have found nothing in these books to suggest this type, and even if he had deliberately determined to produce a hybrid by adopting the Scytho-Persian form from another book illustrating the sculptures of Persepolis, the result would have had the clumsier outline seen on the sculptures, rather than an outline approximating to that of the Vettersfelde sheath. But if the supposed forger's model had been the Vettersfelde sheath itself, he would have been far more likely to employ Greek than Assyrian motives in decorating his work; or if he had decided on another mode of ornamentation, the most obvious style to adopt was that of the Melgunoff sheath which had been known to archaeologists since the 18th century.

It has of course been carefully considered whether or not it was wise to publish an object presenting such anomalies; but on the whole it has been thought best to present it without prejudice, and by publication to give the archaeological world an opportunity of forming its own judgement upon the questions at issue. The minor antiquities of the period between the decline of Assyria and Alexander's invasion are not so perfectly known that the points raised upon either side can be dismissed offhand; and nothing short of a good photographic reproduction can make their discussion intelligible.

23. ORNAMENT in the form of a lion-gryphon couchant, embossed and chased, the head alone being completed in the round. Two long square gold nails project

FIG. 50. Gold ornament (no. 23).

from sockets affixed to the back, and in the same line with these are two smaller sockets, now empty. The wings are treated in a broad conventional manner, and the feathers at the lower extremities are represented by pear-shaped settings for coloured stones which are now lost. On the shoulder is a circular setting, and on the flank a similar setting between two others of triangular shape: two crescent-shaped settings indicate the ribs. The recurved tail terminates in

a conventionalized leaf, and to the end of each horn is attached a pellet. The doubled-up legs are treated in a fantastic manner, the hoofs being modelled in purely ornamental curves.

See figure 50. *Archaeologia*, vol. lviii, p. 102.

L. 2·42 in. 6·15 cm. Weight 200 grains.

The general attitude recalls that of couchant stags on certain bronze harness-plaques discovered in one of the 'Seven Brothers' tumuli in the Kuban district, which is assigned to the 4th century B. C. (fig. 24), and in which the Scythian element is conspicuous. The monster is the so-called 'lion-gryphon,' which was originally of Babylonian descent, though the characteristic horns are a Persian addition. The facts with regard to its distribution on early monuments will be found at the end of Furtwängler's article *Gryps* in Roscher's Lexicon (*see* note on no. 116). It is found on coins of Lycia, Cilicia, Panticapaeum and Mauretania, and was probably introduced into Greek art through the agency of imported Persian cylinders and textiles. The Greeks frequently employed it in ornament, dropping first the eagle's legs and then the short feathered tail, thus approximating to their own eagle-headed type; but in monuments of a good period it appears to be always connected in some way with Persia or the Persians. One of the most conspicuous examples of this is the so-called Vase of Xenophantus, found in the Crimea but probably made in Attica (*Compte rendu*, 1867, Atlas, pl. iv; Kondakoff, p. 80, fig. 109), on which Persians are seen hunting it: fig. 27 is taken from this vase. It is often found on gems, and a good instance is a chalcedony scaraboid in the Louvre, where such a gryphon is being killed by a Persian (Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, vol. iii, p. 123, and cf. pl. xi, fig. 19; xii, figs. 1 and 4). To quote only one other instance of its association with Persia, it is seen represented on the embroidered saddle-cloths of a Persian's horse in the lion-hunt on one of the great sarcophagi from Sidon in the Museum of Tchinili-Kiosk at Constantinople (Hamdy Bey and Théodore Reinach, *Une Nécropole royale à Sidon*, p. 303). The above facts are sufficient to show that the motive of the present gold ornament must have been originally derived from Persia, though the type is not the earliest, and shows modifications similar to those adopted by the Greeks. The Persian derivation perhaps affords some confirmatory evidence of the theory as to the origin of inlaid jewellery in the introduction (*see* above, p. 24); for monstrous figures are not found in the bronze-age art of the 'Scythians,' and when they appear in the iron age, they are clearly importations from Hither Asia. The lion-gryphon in its later forms was handed on to Roman art, but in the later oriental art of the Sassanian period, the gryphon is of the Greek type (cf. no. 188). The termination of the horns in large pellets instead of the cup-shaped depressions seen on no. 116 is worthy of remark, and the leaf at the tip of the tail also lends a barbaric touch to the effect. In the notes to no. 116 will be found references to the eagle-headed type of gryphon and other allied monsters. The disposition of the settings upon the flank forms the 'point and comma' motive, on which *see* above, p. 31. The probable derivation of the highly conventionalized monsters on the two gold armlets (nos. 144, 145) from the lion-gryphon is discussed in the note to those numbers. This ornament may have been the frontal ornament of some kind of head-dress: the Scythian caps were as a rule undecorated, but ceremonial head-dresses were sometimes embellished with applied gold plaques (e.g. example from the Kuban, *Materials*, vol. iii, 1894, p. 33). The general style in which the monster is treated, especially at the extremities of the legs, is barbaric and seems to have been influenced by a fancy not dissimilar from that which created the more fantastic features of Celtic zoomorphic designs.

24. SILVER DISC, embossed and parcel-gilt, the gilding having been done by cutting thin plates of gold of the desired contour and lapping them over the embossed figures. In the centre is a boss pierced by five holes, and round the edge is a guilloche border. In the broad space between the two are represented three

mounted huntsmen galloping in pursuit of game. One is launching a spear at two deer; another is similarly pursuing a pair of ibexes; while the third, who is riding in the opposite direction, is aiming an arrow at a hare before his horse's feet. All three wear the hood covering the ears, girded tunics, and trousers, the patterns on these garments being indicated by punched dots and parallel or hatched lines. They ride without stirrups upon ornamented saddle-cloths fringed at the back, and in two cases a projection is seen behind the rider's waist indicating either the end of a bow-case or a part of the dress: the tails of the horses are tied up with large bows.

Two of the animals pursued, a deer and an ibex, have been struck by spears which have broken in each case and form a right angle.

Plate IX.

D. 3·8 in. 9·65 cm.

Cunningham[2], pl. vi, fig. D; Kondakoff, p. 287, fig. 252 (from the gold imitation).

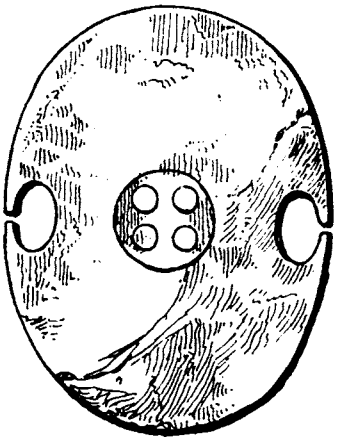


FIG. 51. Shield from Persepolis. (After Flandin and Coste.)

The scene upon this disc is closely analogous to those upon the gold hilt of a dagger (fig. 12) found in a tumulus at Chertomlyk in Southern Russia (fig. 12; *Compte rendu*, 1865, pl. v, and Kondakoff, p. 304), an object which is definitely Persian in almost all its details; the animals' heads back to back at the end of the hilt, the palmette between them (cf. no. 47), the median band of palmette design dividing the two rows of figures (cf. fig. 52 from Susa and no. 25), and finally the huntsmen themselves. The type of horseman here seen with his hooded cap, fringed saddle-cloth, and horse with knotted tail, seems to have been a common one in the art of the Achaemenian period: it is found on gems (Babelon, *La Collection Pauvert de la Chapelle*, pl. iv, fig. 17; Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. liii, fig. 8; Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, vol. iii, p. 122 and pl. xi and xii: gems of this class in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, and in the British Museum), and upon coins attributed to Evagoras II of Salamis in Cyprus, who was a tributary of the Persian Empire (fig. 30, after Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, pl. xvii, fig. 15). Another coin figured by Lajard, as above, pl. lxiii, fig. 10, should also be compared. The testimony of these various objects points to a date not far removed from the middle of the 4th century B.C., for even if the attribution of the coin to Evagoras be disputed, the style of the gems and the details of the sword-hilt, with their parallels from Susa, afford sufficiently reliable testimony.

The fashion of tying horses' tails into knots was universal in Persia. Knots of slightly different form occur on the Assyrian sculptures, and doubtless the fashion was borrowed from the Euphrates Valley: we find examples on the sculptures of Persepolis (fig. 39), on the gems and dagger-hilt already referred to. The caparisons may be compared with those seen upon the sarcophagi from Sidon at Constantinople (reproduced by Th. Reinach and Hamdy Bey, *Une Nécropole royale à Sidon*). The conventionalization of the muscles upon the deer and ibexes of this disc may be compared with that of the two gold deer nos. 11 and 12, in the notes to which mention is made of the other animals in the collection in which the same features are observed.

The disc may possibly have served as the central boss of a shield, in spite of its delicate nature. The fact that the Persian and Scythian shields were long and not round (*see* above, p. 57) need not have prevented the use of a circular boss. A long shield at Persepolis (fig. 51) has such a boss and the association of the two forms seems to have continued among the tribes of the Steppes at a later period (Furtwängler, *Der Goldfund von Vettersfelde*, p. 19).

25. CONVEX MEDALLION, with embossed ornament. The centre contains a conventional eagle displayed; beyond is a band of lotus design between two bands of bosses: the edge is embossed with scallops in contact somewhat resembling an egg-and-dart moulding. Intervening between these several circles are three plain cable bands. In the centre of the back is soldered a stout ring.

Plate X.

FIG. 52. Lotus ornament from Susa. (After Dieulafoy.)

D. 3·75 in. 9·8 cm. Weight 611 grains.

This object may have been an ornament for the top of a head-dress, as was suggested by the late Mr. Charles Schefer, who compared it with the large buttons still worn in the East in this position and called *Koors*. The holes in the top of the small gold head (no. 6) perhaps indicate a somewhat similar ornament.

The continuous band of lotus design here seen was a favourite in Persia in Achaemenian times. Cf. the glazed tiles on the great staircase at Susa (fig. 52; Dieulafoy, *Suse*, pl. viii, opp. p. 298).

The eagle in its stiff heraldic attitude recalls the ancient bicephalous eagle of the Hittite sculptures at Boghaz Keui and Eyuk in North Cappadocia, but it is far more conventional, the body almost resembling that of a larva, and recalling in general outline that of the geese on the small gold plaque, no. 47.

The eagle plays a part in the legendary history of the Persian royal house, and Aelian (*De natura animalium*, xii. 21) relates the tradition that Achaemenes was nourished by an eagle: perhaps for this reason a gold eagle displayed ornamented the yoke of the royal chariot (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* vii. 1.4; Q. Curtius, iii. 3). Eagles surmount a sarcophagus from the Royal Necropolis at Sidon, on which Persians are depicted, though here the birds may simply be employed as symbols of courage (Th. Reinach and Hamdy Bey, *Une Nécropole royale à Sidon*, Paris, 1892, pp. 275–276. The eagle is frequent in Greek art, but is there treated in a freer and less heraldic style.

26. OPENWORK DISC; a sphinx seated to *l.* with her *r.* fore-leg raised and her head turned back. She wears a hemispherical cap and necklace, and her hair falls in a roll upon her neck. The tip of her wing assumes the form of a lion-gryphon's head. The disc is bordered by a broad band divided by radiating lines. At the back, three loops for attachment.

Plate XI.

D. 2 in. 5 cm. Weight 58 grains.

This and the following numbers were probably sewn upon the costume of wealthy or important persons after the fashion popular with various Scythian tribes, and noticed both by Herodotus (i. 215) and Strabo (xi. 5. 8). The discoveries in the Graeco-Scythian tombs of Southern Russia prove the wide extension of the custom (*Compte rendu*, *passim*; Kondakoff, p. 68; *Materials*, vol. iii, 1894, p. 32), which was no doubt also prevalent in the north of the Persian dominions.

The sphinx came into Greek art with the gryphon and other winged animals, but had been known under various forms in Egyptian and Mycenaean times (Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, vol. iii, pp. 43 and 72).

The seated sphinx occurs on gold bracteates for sewing on garments from one of the Seven Brothers tumuli in South Russia (*Compte rendu*, 1879, Atlas, pl. iii, fig. 16), and on similar objects from tombs, near Kertch (ibid., 1880, pp. 225, 235, 236); the bearded sphinx is found in Persian

art (Furtwängler, as above, vol. iii, p. 124). The termination of the wing in an animal's head is a barbaric trait found frequently in Graeco-Scythian art. The tail of the Vettersfelde fish ends in two rams' heads (fig. 23 and Furtwängler, *Der Goldfund von Vettersfelde*, pl. i); the last tine of the stag's antler on the plaque from Kul-Oba (*Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, pl. xxvi, fig. 1) ends in the same way; on a harness-plaque from one of the Seven Brothers tumuli in South Russia, the tail of a winged monster terminates in a bird's head (*Compte rendu*, 1880, Atlas, pl. i, fig. 8); a winged lion for attachment to clothes from a tomb near Kertch also has a bird's head at the end of its tail (ibid., pl. iii, fig. 27); and a gold plaque in the shape of a stag from Smiela in the basin of the Dnieper has a bird's head at the end of every tine of the antler (Bobrinsky, *Kurgans of Smiela*, vol. ii, pl. 21). On the development of this style of ornament *see* S. Reinach in *Revue archéologique*, 1901, pp. 27 ff.

27. DISC: a sphinx seated to *r.* with the *l.* fore-leg raised.
Plate XI.
D. 1 in. 2·6 cm. Weight 19 grains.

28. ANOTHER; a lion-gryphon seated to *r.* with its head turned back: border similar to that of no. 26. At the back, four loops for attachment.
Plate XI.
D. 1·9 in. 4·75 cm. Weight 82 grains.

29. ANOTHER with the same design: four loops at the back.
D. 1·62 in. 4·2 cm. Weight 63 grains.

30. ANOTHER, similar: at back traces of loops for attachment.
D. 1·6 in. 40 cm. Weight 123 grains.

31. ANOTHER; a winged lion (?) walking to *l.*
Plate XXI.
D. ·62 in. 1·6 cm. Weight 10 grains.

32. ANOTHER; head of Bes. Border of guilloche in which are four holes for attachment.
Plate XI.
D. 1·7 in. 4·35 cm. Weight 70 grains.
Compare the mask upon the front of the chariot, no. 7, *Plate* IV.

33. ANOTHER; an eagle displayed: above the head a ring or disc. Border similar to nos. 26 and 28.
Plate XI.
D. 1·9 in. 4·8 cm. Weight 88 grains.
For the eagle *see* note to no. 25. It is found, though in a less heraldic form, on somewhat similar discs used for ornamenting garments in the tombs of South Russia (e. g. *Compte rendu*, 1875, Atlas, pl. iii; 1880, pl. iii, figs. 14 and 30; cf. also *Recueil d'antiquités de la Scythie*, pl. viii, figs. 14, 22). The disc suggests Egyptian influence.

34. ANOTHER, with the same design, but without border: at the back two loops for attachment.
Plate XI.
D. ·88 in. 2·2 cm. Weight 20 grains.

35. DISC, a bearded human half-figure, wearing a serrated crown, issuing from two pairs of wings, and a tail.

Plate XXI.

D. ·86. 2·2 cm. Weight 14 grains.

This figure perhaps represents Ahura Mazda, not necessarily identified with the royal feruer (spiritual form), as Lenormant, discussing a Persian cylinder in Cahier and Martin's *Mélanges d'archéologie*, vol. iii, p. 131. *See* J. G. Rohde, *Die heilige Sage . . . der alten Baktrer, Meder, Perser*, &c., pp. 485 ff. M. Dieulafoy, on the other hand, argues that such emblems represent nothing more than genii, and that they are merely the prototypes of the winged figures in human form which appear upon Sassanian monuments like no. 188 below (*L'Acropole de Suse*, pp. 406–408). Similar bearded busts are frequent upon Persian monuments of the Achaemenian period, but the figure often rises from a circle, and sometimes holds the symbolic ring in its hand. Another form of the winged disc used in Persia occurs on a scaraboid found in a grave south of Kertch (*Compte rendu*, 1880, Atlas, pl. iii, fig. 7). Small objects of Persian manufacture or design are comparatively frequent in South Russia; there can be little doubt that they were exported in a similar manner into the Scythian region of Central Asia and also imitated there.

36. THIN DISC with punched design, representing a horseman riding to *r.* and holding up a rod or spear in his *l.* hand. He wears a hood, girded tunic, and trousers, the latter ornamented by hatched lines. He appears to be seated on a saddle-cloth with a crenelated border, and is reining in the horse, which is galloping: the side-piece of a bit appears to be visible, though the details of the bridle are not very clear. The tail of the horse is tied with a bow. At the back is an applied loop for attachment.

See figure.

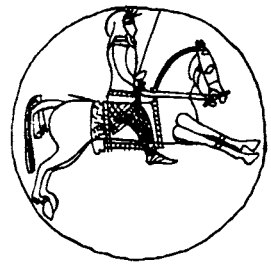


FIG. 53. Design on no. 36.

D. 1·9 in. 4·8 cm. Weight 85 grains.

For the type of horseman cf. no. 24, pl. ix, and fig. 30. This object, though not embossed, is included in this section, because it was obviously used for a similar purpose as the preceding numbers.

37. RECTANGULAR PLAQUE with embossed ornament in two rectangular compartments of unequal size. In the smaller, a man wearing a hemispherical head-dress, girded tunic and trousers stands with raised hand facing the larger compartment, which contains a lion standing to *l.* but with the head facing; the details are indicated by punched dots. Along one side of the plaque is a vandyked border of applied strips of gold, and forming cells for coloured stones now missing. On the back are four loops for attachment.

Plate XXI.

L. 8 in. 2·05 cm. Weight 20 grains.

Cunningham[1], pl. xv, fig. 4.

It is just possible that this plaque may be a rude attempt to render a symbolic combat of the type represented by fig. 10. The lion is strikingly similar to that seen on a plaque from South Russia (*Compte rendu*, 1876, pl. iii, fig. 20).

38. FIGURE OF A MAN, embossed from a thin plate. He wears a crenelated crown, (*see* no. 1) a long garment with wide sleeves ornamented with a row of circles, and shoes or boots. His long hair falls in a heavy roll upon his neck, and in his ear is a circular ear-ring.: possibly the ridge round his neck represents a collar. His *r.* hand is held up before his face, and in his *l.* is a lotus-like flower. At the back are five loops for attachment.

Plate XII.

L. 2·42 in. 6·15 cm. Weight 53 grains.

This figure perhaps represents a king in the act of making an offering. The carrying of a lotus-flower seems to have been a ceremonial act in Persia, though it need not always indicate direct participation in worship; on the sculptures the king and officers of the court are sometimes seen either with an actual flower or with an ornament in its shape. (An example from Persepolis is seen in fig. 9.) Deities themselves were associated with particular flowers (see above, p. 47); and on coins of Tiribazus a half-figure of Ahura Mazda holds a lotus (E. Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, pl. iii, fig. 16). The lotus is held by other figures in the present collection (*see* pl. xiii, xiv, xv, xxv), one of which, no. 103, may represent Anaïtis: on its general significance *see* notes to nos. 103 and 188.

It is difficult to say whether this figure is bearded or beardless: the chin is full and highly embossed so that perhaps a beard is intended. The Achaemenian kings were almost all bearded, but the younger Cyrus appears without a beard upon darics (Babelon, as above, pl. ii, fig. 7).

On the royal costume *see* above, pp. 51 and 52; on p. 49 the similarity between royal and priestly garments, and on p. 53 that between male and female costume in court circles, are noted. The dress of the archers upon the archers' frieze at Susa (cf. fig. 13) is of very much the same character, and it is probable that the pronounced pleats which we remark upon the cylinders and upon our own figure may be simply a rough and ready method of indicating folds in drapery such as are seen upon that frieze (cf. also no. 1). It has been already remarked (p. 22), that the Persians are held to have learnt the representation of folds in drapery from the Greeks (Dieulafoy, *Suse*, pp. 294-295; A. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, vol. iii, p. 11).

The costume and attitude of this figure should be especially compared with those of no. 89, pl. xiv. It was probably attached to some article of apparel or caparison, as was also the succeeding number.

39. ORNAMENT in the form of a large bird's head with curved beak issuing from a serpentine body.

At the back five loops for attachment.

Plate XII.

L. 1·34 in. 3·35 cm. Weight 65 grains.

This is one of the monstrous combinations perhaps to be attributed to Scythian fancy, the same fancy which suggested the fantastic forms seen on plaques from 4th-century graves in the South of Russia (*Compte rendu*, 1880, pp. 9 ff., Atlas, pl. i, fig. 8). From the loop at the back it may be conjectured that like the preceding figure, no. 38, it was attached to some article of apparel. Such objects as found in South Russia were not always in the form of discs, but were often cut out in outline (e. g. *Compte rendu*, 1880, Atlas, pl. iii, fig. 27).

40. CONVEX MEDALLION with conventional lion's head facing, and cable border. Across the back is soldered a thick gold wire forming a loop for attachment.

Plate XI.

D. 1·64 in. 4·15 cm. Weight 160 grains.

Perhaps a barbaric parallel to the Persian and Graeco-Scythian bracteates (cf. nos. 26 ff.),

but more adapted for attachment to straps or bands on harness or accoutrements than to garments. The lion's head is frequent on bracteates from South Russia (e. g. *Compte rendu*, 1880, pp. 225 and 235–236 from a grave, south of Kertch).

41. MEDALLION, head of a beardless man. The hair is curly, the face and nose long, and the cheeks full. Border of dolphins. At back a wire as in preceding number.

See figure.

D. 1·64 in. 4·15 cm. Weight 197 grains.
The border has been clipped.

42. ANOTHER, a grotesque head with human face, bull's horns, very large projecting ears, and two projecting tusks. The ears and part of the field ornamented with punched dots. At the back a wire as before.

See figure.

D. 1·62. 4·1 cm. Weight 166 grains.
This type may be a barbaric derivative from the head of such a monster as that seen on an embossed gold plaque from the Chertomlyk tumulus in South Russia. The monster is a winged quadruped with horned human head and projecting ears; and the style of the work suggests influences from the art of Mesopotamia and Persia (Kondakoff, p. 309, fig. 270). Projecting tusks were a feature of the early type of *Gorgoneion* which occurs upon gold bracteates intended for sewing on garments, and found in the Graeco-Scythian tombs of South Russia, e. g. *Compte rendu*, 1880, Atlas, pl. iii, fig. 9. Other plaques of the same character, also from the south of Russia, have horned human heads (*Compte rendu*, 1879, Atlas, pl. iii). Both the bull's head and the horned human head were regarded as amulets (ibid., text, p. 144). There may be some connexion between these facts and the custom of wearing horns upon the head, which in Asia, as in other parts of the world, has been practised both in ancient and modern times. The Chinese pilgrim Hiouen Thsang in the 7th century noted that the women of Badakshan affixed long horns to their heads; while modern travellers relate that the women of the Siah Posh Kafirs still wear horned head-dresses.

43. HEMISPHERICAL BUTTON, with stout loop in the interior for attachment It is embossed with two figures of boars lying down and two ibex heads.

D. 1·7 in. 4·3 cm. Weight 345 grains.
Perhaps used in the same way as nos. 40–42.

44. HORSE, embossed from a thin plate. The mouth is open and the head somewhat grotesque: the mane is gathered into a plume on the forehead. The conventional markings indicating muscles upon the legs are punched.

Plate XII.

L. 1·42 in. 3·6 cm. Weight 28 grains.

45. ANOTHER, rudely embossed from a thin plate; the muscles indicated by punched marks. The mouth is pierced to receive a rein formed of a flat strip of gold, and affixed to a bifurcating wire applied to the neck is a fragment of a yoke, from the centre of which rises a circular disc.

Plate XIII.

L. 2·12 in. 5·4 cm. Weight 80 grains.
This horse evidently belonged to a model chariot. Compare the fragments of harness with no. 7.

46. HORSE, embossed from a plate, the details indicated by punching. To a girth passing under the belly is attached a large circular ring surmounted by a flower-like ornament, perhaps for the reins to pass through. The mane is gathered into a plume between the ears, and the mouth is pierced with a hole, probably to receive applied wire reins now missing (cf. no. 8).

Plate XII.

L. 2·4 in. 5·5 cm. Weight 139 grains.

This horse is of a more massive build than some of the others, and recalls the chariot-horses upon the sculptures at Persepolis (C. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Casts of Sculptures from Persepolis*, no. 4, from which fig. 39 is partly taken). It resembles these in the freedom of its style, and has none of the conventional markings representing muscles seen on nos. 44 and 45. On Persian horses *see* above, pp. 10 and 59.

47. NARROW PLAQUE, serrated along the top: broken into two parts.

In the centre is a palmette, on either side of which is a pair of geese confronted, but with averted heads, and separated by a vertical line of punched dots.

Plate XII.

L. 4·38 in. 11·1 cm. Weight 153 grains.

The palmette may be compared with the examples upon glazed bricks at Susa (figs. 52 and 54), and with the 'Ionic lotus' figured by Goodyear (*Grammar of the Lotus*, pl. xii, fig. 4), though here it terminates at the base in a different way, recalling in this respect the palmette upon the Chertomlyk dagger-hilt (fig. 12), which is also an example of Persian work. The conventional style of the geese suggests that of the birds of prey on the embossed quiver-ornaments found in the fourth of the Seven Brothers tumuli in South Russia, ascribed to the 5th century (*Compte rendu*, 1880, Atlas, pl. ii, figs. 4 and 5; Kondakoff, p. 276, fig. 246). For the association of the goose with the lotus, probably as a solar symbol, see Goodyear, as above, pp. 269 ff.; for the prominence of the bird in the art of India and Burmah see J. E. Tennant, *Ceylon* (London, 1860), p. 484.

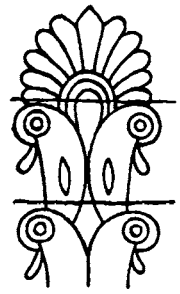


FIG. 54. Lotus-ornament from Susa. (After Dieulafoy.)

IV. Gold Plaques with Figures punched in outline.

48. GOLD RECTANGULAR PLAQUE, embossed with the figure of a man standing to *r.*, his *l.* hand by his side, his *r.* extended and holding a bundle of rods. He wears a hood from which his hair projects both above and below, close sleeves, tunic reaching almost to the knees, confined at the waist with a girdle, trousers, and high boots. His tunic is ornamented with two vertical stripes and has similar bands along the bottom and at the shoulders. From the girdle hangs on his *r.* hip a short sword in a sheath with a cinquefoil chape and a lateral projection at the upper end.

Plate XIII.

L. 5·9 in. 15 cm. Weight 2⅛ oz.

Cunningham[1], pl. xiv; Kondakoff, p. 187, fig. 177.

The figure here represented wears the costume which seems to have been in its essential features common to the Scythians and the inhabitants of Northern Persia, but the

hood as here shown is the form worn in Persia and is not of the type adopted by the Scythians in the south of Russia. It is difficult to say whether the bundle of rods held in his hand prove him to be a diviner (*see* p. 46 above, and Kondakoff, p. 186), or a participant in some Mazdeistic ceremony. In the latter case the bundle would be the *bareçman* or *barsom* (*see* p. 46), and the holder perhaps a priest of a lower grade; for in form at least there does not appear to have been any very marked distinction between the garments of such priests and those of laymen. Strabo's description of the hood-like caps worn by the Magi of Cappadocia at their ceremonies (xv. 733 τιάρας περικείμενοι πιλωτὰς καθεικυίας ἑκατέρωθεν μέχρι τοῦ καλύπτειν τὰ χείλη τὰς παραγναθίδας) applies almost equally well to the head-dresses of Evagoras of Salamis (fig. 30), of the king or satrap in no. 2, of the huntsmen in no. 24, and of many of the figures upon this series of plaques. If the personage is a layman, as the presence of the short sword at his side perhaps indicates, it becomes more difficult to identify the rods with the *barsom*, for the allusions to this object in the sacred books seem to describe it as a priestly attribute; but the silver statuette (no. 1), which appears to be a king, certainly has it, and its use may have been more extensive than there has hitherto been reason to suppose. Among the modern Parsis the *barsom*, when not held, is touched by the priest with his left hand as it lies in a horizontal position before him, supported upon two small metal stands *mâhru* (*see* the photographs and life-sized models exhibited in the Musée Guimet at Paris, and Dieulafoy, *Suse*, p. 398).

The short sword worn by the personage is the Scytho-Persian weapon familiar to us from the sculptures of Persepolis and other monuments (*see* p. 54, figs. 9 and 37 and nos. 8 and 70).

The use of this series of gold plaques is not easy to determine. They are too big to have been fastened on garments like nos. 26 ff., and indeed the absence of any holes or loops for attachment in all of them would make their application to anything difficult. They may have had a votive significance: the subjects of some of them appear to be ceremonial, and the introduction into Persia under Artaxerxes Mnemon of new cults like that of Anahita (*see* p. 44) may have carried with it an extensive use of votive offerings.

This difficulty in explaining the purpose for which these plaques were made, and the character of some of the figures, which are so rude and grotesque that a child might have designed them, has brought the whole group into suspicion: it has further been argued that so large an amount of pure gold is not likely to have been wasted on objects of such extreme rudeness by any one except a forger. It is, indeed, possible that some specimens may not be antique, but this need not involve the condemnation of them all. The very roughness of their execution precludes detailed criticism, for there is so little on which it can be based, and such rude work as this might be done at any period. But the extravagant use of gold is what might be expected in a region so rich in the precious metal as Central Asia in ancient times, and it need not in itself militate against the authenticity of the plaques.

This plaque, and no. 84, which is also embossed, should strictly be included in the preceding section; but as by their form and subjects they belong more closely to the present series, it was considered more convenient to insert them in this group.

49. GOLD RECTANGULAR PLAQUE, with figure of a man standing to *r.* punched in outline. He is dressed as no. 48 and holds in his *r.* a bundle of rods, in his *l.* a conventional lotus-flower. Round the edges an embossed pearled border.

L. 7·75 in. 19·7 cm. Weight 1 oz. 108 grains.
See note to preceding number. For the flower *see* notes to nos. 103 and 188.

50. UPPER HALF OF A PLAQUE, with half-figure of a bearded man wearing hood, as no. 48, and long-sleeved tunic. He holds in both hands a bundle of rods.

L. 3 in. 7·7 cm. Weight 325 grains.

51. RECTANGULAR PLAQUE, with figure of a man standing to *r.* and dressed as before. He holds with both hands a bundle of rods.

Plate XIV.

L. 2·26 in. 5·75 cm. Weight 35 grains.

52. ANOTHER, imperfect, with three-quarter figure of a man standing to *r.* and holding before him with both hands a bundle of rods. The costume is as before, but the top of the cap has several vertical creases.

L. 2·6 in. 6·55 cm. Weight 101 grains.

53. ANOTHER, a man dressed as before, standing to *r.* and holding a bundle of rods before him with his *r.* hand. About the centre of each side, near the edge, is a circular perforation.

L. 2·8 in. 7·1 cm. Weight 59 grains.

54. ANOTHER, a man dressed as before, standing to *r.* and holding a bundle of rods in the *r.* hand. The work very rough and indistinct.

L. 2·8 in. 7 cm. Weight 64 grains.

55. ANOTHER, a man dressed as before, standing to *r.* and holding a bundle of rods before him with both hands.

L. 2·7 in. 6·9 cm. Weight 67 grains.

56. ANOTHER, a man dressed as before, standing to *r.* and holding a bundle of rods with both hands. Extremely rough work.

L. 2·68 in. 6·85 cm. Weight 72 grains.

57. ANOTHER, a man to *r.* as before, holding rods in his *r.* hand. Very rough workmanship.

L. 1·64 in. 4·2 cm. Weight 26 grains.

58. ANOTHER, a man as before, standing to *r.* and holding rods in his *r.* hand.

L. 1·1 in. 2·75 cm. Weight 10 grains.

59. ANOTHER; a man to *r.* as before, holding rods in his *r.* hand: rough workmanship.

L. 1·66 in. 4·25 cm. Weight 52 grains.

60. ANOTHER, terminating in a long strip at base; a man to *r.* as before, holding rods in his *r.* hand.

L. 4·4 in. 11·1 cm. Weight 45 grains.

61. ANOTHER; a man standing to *l.* and holding rods before him with both hands. The costume is essentially the same as in the preceding examples, but the tunic is ornamented with rows of punched dots, and the trousers with cross-hatching. At each top corner a circular perforation.

L. 3·2 in. 8·3 cm. Weight 88 grains.

62. RECTANGULAR PLAQUE, a man standing to *l.* holding rods before him. Costume is as before, but the trousers are cross-hatched, and the ends of a fillet project in front of the cap.

L. 2·05 in. 5·2 cm. Weight 31 grains.

63. ANOTHER; a man standing to *l.* clothed as before, but with cap which does not cover the ears. He is carrying a bundle of rods (?) with both hands.

L. 1·8 in. 4·55 cm. Weight 31 grains.

64. ANOTHER; a man clothed as before, standing to *l.* and holding rods in both hands. The upper part of the body and the legs from the knees are in low relief, the rest in outline. Very rough workmanship.

L. 3·26 in. 8·25 cm. Weight 257 grains.

65. ANOTHER; a man holding out a bundle of rods (?). Extremely barbarous work.

L. 8·55 in. 22·7 cm. Weight 2 oz. 355 grains.

66 & 67. ANOTHER; in two halves, a man standing to *l.* clothed as before, but with two circular projections above the front of the hood, and hatched ornament on his trousers. In his *l.* hand he holds a long spear with leaf-shaped head. On two consecutive sides a border of punched dots.

L. 1 in. 3·9 cm. Weight 15 grains.

68. ANOTHER, with an extremely rude and grotesque figure of a bearded man standing to *l.* He wears a coat like that seen in the preceding number and empty sleeves, closely fitting trousers, and low boots. On his head is a cap (?) with two lobes. In his *r.* hand he holds up three rods.

L. 4·6 in. 11·65 cm. Weight 1 oz. 179 grains.
For the costume *see* p. 51 and note to no. 2.

69. ANOTHER; a man standing to *r.* In his *l.* hand he holds up a globular vase with high neck and expanding rim. In his *r.* he grasps a bundle of rods. He wears a hood, a tunic of which only the sleeves are visible, and a long coat with furred border represented by a band of pounced circles, and empty hanging sleeves. On his feet are low boots.

Plate XIV.

L. 1·95 in. 4·95 cm. Weight 49 grains.
For the upper garment cf. the two preceding numbers.

70. ANOTHER; a man standing to *r.*, holding in his *l.* the bundle of rods, in his *r.* a beaker-shaped cup with cover and handle. He wears a hood with fillet, a girded tunic ornamented with vertical stripes and a border at the bottom, long trousers and boots. The outside of the right leg shows a design of three superposed birds facing to right. A dagger or short sword is suspended from the girdle, the cord supporting it passing through the lateral projection at the mouth of the sheath; a second cord attached to the bottom passes round the man's leg.

Plate XIV.

L. 2·64 in. 6·7 cm. Weight 51 grains.
For this type of sword cf. nos. 22 and 48, and figs. 9 and 37.

71. RECTANGULAR PLAQUE; a man standing to *l.* with his elbows at his sides; the hands, both of which are raised, holding bundles of rods. He wears trousers, a tunic reaching to the knees, and the hood. The tunic is ornamented with dots, and a single long vertical band, and with tasselled cords; the ends of the girdle hang loose in front. Round the edges runs a line of punched dots.

Plate XIV.

L. 2·64 in. 6·7 cm. Weight 65 grains.

72. ANOTHER; a man in a tunic walking to *l.* His arms are extended and he holds rods (?) in both hands. Very rough work.

L. ·92 in. 2·3 cm. Weight 9 grains.

73. ANOTHER; a man standing to *r.* and holding a spear before him with both hands: his hood is bound with a fillet the ends of which hang down the back.

L. 5 in. 12·7 cm. Weight 1 oz. 181 grains.

74. ANOTHER; a man walking to *r.* clothed as before, except that his head-dress is a cap rather than a hood. He holds in his *r.* a spear, and in his *l.* a flower.

Plate XIV.

Weight 48 grains.

On the flower *see* notes to nos. 103 and 188.

75. ANOTHER; a man clothed as before, with a single stripe down the side of his tunic, standing to *r.* and holding a spear with leaf-shaped point. Border of punched dots.

Plate XIV.

L. 1·88 in. 4·8 cm. Weight 44 grains.

76. ANOTHER; a bearded man standing to *l.* and holding a bundle of rods before him. He wears a hood and ear-rings with circular pendants. His costume consists of a long coat reaching to the ankles with empty hanging sleeves, and furred band down the front. Very rough work.

L. 2·7 in. 6·85 cm. Weight 40 grains.

For the costume *see* p. 51 and note to no. 2.

77. ANOTHER; a man standing to *r.* with hood, tunic, and trousers as before, but with two stripes down the tunic; he holds a flower in his *r.* hand, and an indeterminate object in his *l.*

L. 3·36 in. 8·55 cm. Weight 76 grains.

78. ANOTHER; a man as before walking to *r.*, holding up a flower in his *l.* and an indeterminate object in his *r.* hand.

L. 2 in. 5·1 cm. Weight 57 grains.

79. ANOTHER; a man as before, but with a single stripe down the tunic, walking to *r.* and holding a flower in his *r.* hand.

L. 2·28 in. 5·8 cm. Weight 56 grains.

80. RECTANGULAR PLAQUE; a man as before, but with a rather different cap, walking to *r.* He has a flower in his *r.* hand, and holds his *l.* arm up. Very rough work.

L. 1·04 in. 2·6 cm. Weight 21 grains.

81. ANOTHER; a man as before walking to *l.* and holding a flower with both hands.

L. 1·64 in. 4·15 cm. Weight 15 grains.

82. ANOTHER; a man as before, but with head-dress with six short radiating lines at the top. In his *l.* hand he holds up a flower. Very rough work.

L. 1·44 in. 3·65 cm. Weight 62 grains.

83. ANOTHER; a man standing to *r.* clothed as before, except that his cap is hemispherical at the top and has a band or fillet round it. In his hands he holds an indeterminate object. Border of punched dots. Very rude workmanship.

L. 3·16 in. 8 cm. Weight 91 grains.

84. ANOTHER, with embossed half-figure of a man to *r.* holding up in his *l.* hand a hammer or staff with a T-shaped end and in his *r.* a spear (?). He is beardless and wears a hood above which is a high plume or horn (?), and a pleated or quilted tunic girded at the waist. Attached to this girdle and slung on the *l.* side of the body is a bow-case (*gorytus*). Near the left edge of the plaque are four small perforations in two pairs, one near the top, the other near the bottom.

Plate XIV.

L. 2·3 in. 5·75 cm. Weight 130 grains.

For the *gorytus* similarly worn *see* the cylinder figured by Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. 52, fig. 2, and the sculptures of Persepolis (e. g. fig. 9); for the hammer, Flandin and Coste, vol. ii, pl. 109.

85. ANOTHER; a bearded man standing to *r.* He wears a girded tunic barely reaching the knees, and close trousers ornamented by cross-hatching. On his head is a serrated crown and in his ears ear-rings with globular pendants. He appears to be holding out an indeterminate object. Border of punched dots. The whole design very indistinct.

L. 3·8 in. 9·6 cm. Weight 95 grains.

The serrated crown is worn by Achaemenian kings on darics and cylinders, and by priests upon coins of the Sassanian period.

86. ANOTHER, with nude figure of a man standing to *r.* holding out a bird by the legs in his *r.* hand. He is beardless and has short hair apparently curly.

Plate XIV.

L. 2·12 in. 5·35 cm. Weight 50 grains.

This plaque may be compared with the silver statuette no. 4, which may also have held a bird. On the bird as an offering to Anaïtis *see* note to no. 103 and cf. a cylinder in the de Clercq collection (fig. 29; and Menant, *Glyptique orientale*, vol. ii, pl. ix, no. 2, and p. 124).

87. ANOTHER; a man standing full face with arms hanging by the sides, and wearing a serrated crown; the work extremely barbarous.

L. 1·84 in. 4·7 cm. Weight 22 grains.

88. RECTANGULAR PLAQUE, a figure in outline standing full face, the head represented by concentric circles: the *r.* hand held up, the *l.* down, both with fingers extended; very rude and grotesque.

L. 1·64 in. 4·2 cm. Weight 18 grains.

89. ANOTHER; a man standing to *r.* He wears a skirt the folds of which are represented by three vertical pleated bands, and a jacket with long pendent sleeves: his hair falls in a roll over the neck.

In his *r.* hand he holds out a flower resembling a lotus, while his *l.*, which possibly contains a smaller flower, is held vertically before his face.

Plate XIV.

L. 1·7 in. 4·35 cm. Weight 37 grains.

Cf. no. 38. The costume is in both cases similar, and in spite of its feminine appearance it is probable that this is also a male figure.

90. ANOTHER; a man (?) standing to *l.* His costume is similar to that of the preceding number, but he has a circular ornament on the forehead and the cord of a girdle is visible below his sleeve. In his *l.* hand he holds up a lotus-like flower. Very rude work.

L. 3 in. 7·6 cm. Weight 115 grains.

91. ANOTHER; a man (?) standing to *l.* clothed as the last two numbers. He appears to be holding up a flower: work very indistinct.

L. 1·94 in. 4·95 cm. Weight 38 grains.

92. ANOTHER; a bearded man with long hair falling in a roll on his neck, standing to *l.* and holding a conventional flower (?) in his *l.* hand. He wears a tunic or jacket and a skirt reaching almost to the ankles.

Plate XIV.

L. 2·06 in. 5·2 cm. Weight 70 grains.

93. ANOTHER; a female figure standing to *r.* Her hair appears to hang in a plait down the back, and she wears a long dress above which is a broad sleeved garment hanging down in front like an apron. In her *r.* hand she holds a flower. Border of punched dots.

Plate XIV.

L. 1·7 in. 4·35 cm. Weight 23 grains.

Cf. no. 103 and fig. 36.

94. ANOTHER; a female figure standing to *r.* She is holding up both hands and is nude to the waist, below which is a skirt reaching to the ankles. Her hair is tied in a loose knot at the back of the head and she wears a necklace (?). Round the edge, a border of punched dots.

Plate XIV.

L. 1·54 in. 3·9 cm. Weight 25 grains.

95. ANOTHER; a man in a girded tunic standing to *l.* and holding up his *r.* hand. Grotesque and rough work.

L. 1·44 in. 3·7 cm. Weight 60 grains.

96. RECTANGULAR PLAQUE, square at one end, rounded at the other, and ornamented with a border of punched dots and a median line of the same.

L. 1·22 in. 3·1 cm. Weight 20 grains.

97. ANOTHER, square at the bottom and rounded at the upper end, with a female (?) figure standing full face with the arms by the sides and wearing a long dress. The work is barbarous, the whole figure conventionalized to the point of caricature.

L. 2·5 in. 6·3 cm. Weight 61 grains.

98. ANOTHER; the fore-part of a camel advancing to *l.* The hair on the neck is indicated by a row of small parallel strokes beyond the outline on either side.

H. 2·2 in. 5·6 cm. Weight 158 grains.

99. ANOTHER; a horse to *l.*, hammered in outline.

Plate X.

L. 4·85 in. 12·3 cm. 1 oz. 111 grains.

100. ANOTHER; a horse galloping to *r.* The hind-legs are both on the ground and the fore-legs extended in the air. Above and below borders of punched dots.

L. ·75 in. 1·8 cm. Weight 11 grains.

V. Rings and Engraved Gems.

(*All the rings in this section are of gold.*)

101. SIGNET-RING, with plain flat hoop and flat oval bezel engraved in intaglio with two female figures playing *astragali*, one to *r.* seated, and wearing a chiton, the other to *l.* apparently nude and kneeling upon one knee.

Plate XV.

D. of bezel, ·92 in. 2·3 cm. Weight 449 grains. Obtained in Rawal Pindi.

Although this ring clearly imitates a Greek subject, the execution and the arrangement of the figures in the field suggest that it is not of purely Greek workmanship. The hoop is heavy and clumsy in design.

102. ANOTHER, with plain flat hoop and flat oval bezel engraved in intaglio with Herakles walking to *r.*, holding his club in his right hand and the lion's skin over his extended left arm.

Plate XV.

D. of bezel, ·94 in. 2·35 cm. Weight 344 grains. Obtained from Rawal Pindi.

Like the preceding number, and for similar reasons, this ring cannot be pure Greek work. Herakles is represented upon a gold ring found in South Russia (*Compte rendu*, 1882, p. 90, and Atlas, pl. iv, fig. 7); and appears upon the coins of Tiribazus, Satrap of Sardis (B.C. 393–381); *see* E. Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, p. xxx. It may be recalled that Herakles had a legendary connexion with Scythia (Herodotus, iv. 8).

103. SIGNET-RING, with plain hoop rounded on the outer side, and flat oval bezel engraved in intaglio with a female figure seated to *l.* on a chair with low back, and holding in her right hand a flower, and in her left a wreath. On her head is an embattled crown, and her hair hangs in a long plait down her back. She wears a long garment reaching to the ankles.

FIG. 55. No. 103.

Plate XV.

L. of bezel, ·9 in. 2·25 cm. Weight 269 grains.

The figure upon this ring may be compared with that upon a Perso-Greek cylinder in the Museum of the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, on which a woman wearing a similar crown, and with her hair dressed in the same way, stands upon a lion, and holds in one hand a staff, in the other a flower (*Compte rendu*, 1883, p. 86). A burned chalcedony cylinder in the de Clercq Collection (fig. 29; Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, vol. iii, p. 120, fig. 80; Menant, *Glyptique orientale*, vol. ii, pp. 174, 175, and pl. ix, fig. 2) shows a seated female figure without a crown, but holding a lotus-flower, to whom an offering of a bird is being brought. These figures are considered to be probably the goddess known to the Persians as Anahita (*see* above, p. 44), and to the Greeks as Anaïtis. It seems probable that on this, and on the following ring, we may have representations of this goddess, whose cult is thought by some to have persisted through the Greek and Indo-Scythian periods in Bactria, and to have reappeared in Sassanian times (*see* note to no. 188). With the figure upon this ring may also be compared that of Aphrodite on coins of Cilician origin (*see* British Museum Catalogue, *Lycaonia*, &c., p. xlii, pl. xl, fig. 10, and pl. xix, fig. 14).

Lotus-flowers and birds, especially doves, appear to have been regarded as acceptable to Anaïtis, and perhaps the flowers held by the female figures in nos. 89, 93 (*Plate* XIV), and 179, may be offerings to her or ceremonial attributes held in her honour. The lotus-flower appears in scenes representing cults of deities from very remote times, and the two curious bronze bowls, one found at Dali in Cyprus (now in the Cesnola Collection, New York; Ceccaldi, *Monuments antiques de Chypre*, p. 83 and pl. vii; Odobesco, *Le Trésor de Pétrossa*, vol. ii, p. 49), the other known as the 'Coupe du Varvakeion' (Odobesco, as above, p. 50, fig. 67), afford examples of this. Though, however, the flower would thus appear to be connected with religious worship in Persia, and though it is seen in the hand of the deity (?) on the reverse of a coin of Tiribazus (Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, pl. iii, fig. 16), it is unlikely that all the persons on monuments of the Achaemenian period represented with flowers in their hands are to be considered as directly engaged in a religious ceremony. It is probable that in Persia, as in contemporary Greece, the flower had a more general symbolical meaning not connected with the worship of any particular deity. Thus it is seen in the hands of the king and court officials on the sculptures and is also found in scenes from ordinary life. An engraved gem (Furtwängler, as above, vol. iii, pl. xii, fig. 11) shows us a Persian resting on his spear while a woman offers him a flower; and this would seem to be a parallel to scenes represented on Greek works of art. Here the conventional lotus-flower is given as an emblem of youthful bloom and strength to several gods and goddesses, for instance on vases to Hermes and Herakles, to Aphrodite, Hera, Artemis, Hebe, and Demeter. It is also shown in the hands of mortal youths and maidens, and is offered as a reward of valour and victory (L. Stephani, *Compte rendu*, 1875, pp. 71 ff., à propos of a late silver dish found at Fonzazo in Venetia, also figured by Odobesco, as above, vol. i, p. 151). It would thus appear to be not only a sign of divinity or royal power, but also an emblem of victorious strength which might be transferred from one person to another as a visible expression of hope and gratitude.

In the later centuries of its existence the symbol seems to have had chiefly a ceremonial significance. On certain Indo-Scythian coins of Kanerki and other kings it is held in the hand

by a female figure which appears to be Nana-Anat, by some regarded as a later form of Anaïtis (see *Gazette archéologique*, vol. xi (1886), p. 7); and its use upon the silver dish (no. 188), though possibly merely convivial, may yet mark that ceremonious oriental festivity with which semi-religious ideas are often associated.

The costume of the figure upon the ring seems to be that of noble ladies as seen upon Persian gems and minor works of art, for in the monumental sculptures women are not represented (cf. no. 93, fig. 35, and a chalcedony scaraboid in the Room of Gold Ornaments and Gems, case 40, row 1 (fig. 36); also Furtwängler, as above, vol. iii, pl. xi, xii). The long plait of hair down the back may possibly have been a fashion indigenous to Asia Minor and adopted by the Persians, for it is found in Etruscan art, which is connected with that of Asia Minor (Furtwängler, p. 123). The long garment suggests that of archaic Greek vases, and recalls the epithet ἑλκεσίπεπλος.

104. SIGNET-RING of similar form engraved in intaglio with a female figure seated to *r.* on a chair with high back, and holding up a branch for a dove which is perched on her hand. She wears a long tunic without sleeves, and has a bracelet on each wrist. On her head is a crown with five spikes, and her hair hangs in a plait down her back.

Plate XV.

FIG. 56. No. 104.

D. of hoop ·9 in. 2·25 cm. D. of bezel ·74 in. 1·9 cm. Weight 275 grains.

From the collection of General Sir Alexander Cunningham. Cunningham[1], pl. xii, fig. 2.

This figure has much in common with that on the preceding ring, and the presence of the crown suggests that the personage represented may be the same goddess. General Cunningham sees here a male figure, but in this he is certainly mistaken.

105. ANOTHER, with plain stirrup-shaped hoop, thicker at the back than at the shoulders, and with flat oval bezel engraved in intaglio with a winged human-headed bull, crowned, and standing to *l.* In the field above is an inscription in Aramaic characters, and before the animal's breast is a sign resembling the upper part of a caduceus.

Plate XV and fig. 57.

FIG. 57. No. 105.

D. ·9 in. 2·25 cm. L. of bezel, ·68 in. 1·7 cm. Weight 180 grains.

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 2nd series, vol. viii, pp. 374 ff.; Cunningham[1], pl. xvii, fig. 6.

This ring is connected by its inscription with certain coins formerly attributed to a satrap of Parthia or Persepolis shortly after the time of Alexander. The problem raised by these coins, which is still *sub judice*, is discussed by the following writers: Prof. Percy Gardner in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1879, p. 1, 1881, p. 8; *Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, British Museum, 1886, p. xix, and *Proc. Soc. Antiq. of London*, as above, pp. 374 ff.; General Sir A. Cunningham, in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1881, p. 171; M. A. de Markoff, in *Journal of the Russian Oriental Society*, 1892, reviewed by Prof. Rapson in *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xxi, p. 231; M. Drouin, in *Revue numismatique*, 1893, p. 119, and *Bulletin de numismatique*, 1900; Dr. H. Dressel, in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, xxi, p. 231; Mr. W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, British Museum, 1903, p. xxx; and Sir Henry Howorth, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series, vol. x (1890), p. 33. Sir Henry Howorth will shortly return to the subject in the same publication.

The fundamental questions in dispute, which partly arise from the various readings of

the inscriptions, and partly from the design upon the reverse of two of the coins, may be ultimately reduced to two: (*a*) who was the personage represented upon the coin shown in fig. 32, and when did he live? (*b*) is his name upon the obverse or upon the reverse? The last question is of especial importance for our purpose, for it is the legend upon the reverse of this coin, and another coin reproduced by Prof. Gardner (*Num. Chron.*, 1879, pl. 1, fig. 3), which is identical with the inscription upon the ring.

The conflicting views upon these two questions are best represented by Prof. Gardner and Sir Henry Howorth. The former reads on the ring and on the reverse of the coin P H Ş P= Pahaspes or Phahaspes, whom he regards as a practically independent ruler at Persepolis in the early Seleucid period; and holds that the presence of the crown upon the winged monster indicates a claim on the part of this ruler to represent the ancient line of Persian kings. The inscription on the obverse he treats as a merely honorific title.

Sir H. Howorth (*Num. Chron.*, 1890) disputed this interpretation, contending that the name is on the obverse of the coin, and apparently assuming by implication that it is not represented upon the ring. He read the obverse as Ph R T Ph R, which he interpreted as *Phratapher* or *Phrataphernes*. Arguing from the very close similarity of the chariot upon the reverse of this coin to that on the reverse of a coin attributed to Andragoras (Gardner, *Num. Chron.*, 1879, pl. 1, fig. 1), he suggested that Andragoras and Phrataphernes were one person, and that the Persian satrap of Parthia under Darius Codomannus, whose name according to Arrian (Book III. xxiii, xxviii; V. xx; VII. vi) was Phrataphernes, changed his name to Andragoras when reinstated in his satrapy under Alexander, now appearing upon his coins without his Persian costume and with his new Greek designation. This hypothesis would reconcile Arrian's statement with that of Justin (XII. iv), who gives Andragoras as Satrap of Parthia, but adds that he was of Persian descent; and would agree fairly well with the date which typological considerations would suggest for the ring, i.e. the latter part of the 4th century B.C. But recent investigations by Sir Henry Howorth and others have further complicated matters. The authenticity of some of the coins, especially those of Andragoras, has been called in question, and it has been remarked that the type of the quadriga upon the reverse (almost identical with that of fig. 32) bears an extraordinarily close resemblance to that seen upon Roman denarii. If this resemblance is to afford a criterion of date, the coin (fig. 32), assuming it to be genuine, must fall well within the Parthian period, and the name Phahaspes or Phrataphernes, or whatever it may be, must refer to a personage who lived long after the satraps mentioned by Arrian and Justin.

Let us now see how the present ring affects the points at issue. It is of a form which cannot possibly be as late as the 2nd century. Unless therefore both the ring and the coins are to be regarded as forgeries, a position which some may be disposed to adopt, we have the following conclusions to choose from. Either (*a*) the original attribution of the coins, wherever they may have been struck, to the period about the time of Alexander is correct, and this is supported in the case of fig. 32 by the Achaemenian head-dress which differs from the Parthian in having the chin covered, or (*b*) the argument from the Roman type of the chariot being accepted as conclusive and the coin placed within the Roman period, the identity of the inscriptions upon the ring and the coins must be explained by the persistence of an Achaemenian name into Parthian times; or (*c*) the ring is early and genuine, whatever the facts about the coins may be. Now the most recent evidence adduced by Sir Henry Howorth, as we have seen, questions the claim to pre-Roman date of the coin most important for comparison (fig. 32), and throws considerable doubt upon its authenticity: the ring must therefore be defended on the lines suggested by the second and third alternatives. It is difficult on a careful examination to ascribe such an object to the coin-forgers of Rawal Pindi, clever though they undoubtedly are, for both in type, style, and in the quality alike of surface and intaglio design, it presents every characteristic which might be expected in a ring of the 4th century B.C. Its quality being what it is, it might even be argued that the coins, if forged, may have copied the inscription on the ring or on objects of similar character; while if the

coins are accepted, but assigned to Parthian times, it might fairly be asked why the same name might not occur and be represented by the same characters, alike in the 4th and the 2nd century B.C. Names are long-lived in the great families of the East, and there seems no valid reason why there should not have been a ruler of the same name in both epochs. Perhaps, amid this medley of conflicting views, it will be safest to follow the guidance of an epigraphist of repute; and we may find greater satisfaction in doing this, inasmuch as the judgement of the authority consulted favours the earlier rather than the later date, thus confirming the typological evidence derived from an examination of the actual ring. The Rev. E. A. Cooke (author of the *Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1903), to whom an impression was sent, gives the following opinion. 'I feel little doubt that the inscription on the ring is Aramaic, and should read the letters Z Ḥ Š P. . . . I imagine (if my transcription is correct) that the name is Persian. The first letter seems to me a Z: possibly it might be P. There is no Aramaic root Ḥ Š P, hence I should imagine the name to be Persian-Aramaic. The figure of the man-headed winged bull would agree with this and the form of the letters would point to the 4th to 3rd century B.C.' This view approximates to that of Prof. Gardner, and it therefore seems permissible to abide by the earlier date, whether the coins are contemporary or no.

The sign resembling part of a caduceus is identical with the old astronomical symbol for Taurus, and was frequently used in the East about the time of Alexander and later. The crowned and winged lion may be compared with those upon an Achaemenian cylinder in the Berlin Museum (Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, pl. i, fig. 13).

106. SIGNET-RING, with slender rounded hoop, and pointed oval bezel engraved in intaglio, with two half-figures of bulls back to back.

Plate XV and fig. 58.

FIG. 58. No. 106.

D. ·82 in. 2·15 cm. D. of bezel ·68 in. 1·7 cm. Weight 101 grains. Obtained from Rawal Pindi.

The subject here engraved is that of the sculptured Persepolitan capitals (fig. 14). The form of bezel is early, and the ring might well be assigned to the 5th century B.C., but it may be recalled that the tablets dating from as late as the reigns of Antiochus the Great, Seleucus Philopator, &c., found by Loftus at Warka, are sealed with rings of this form engraved with Persepolitan subjects (Menant, *Glyptique orientale*, vol. ii, p. 182).

107. ANOTHER; the hoop slender and pearled, the bezel flat and pointed, oval in shape; it is engraved in intaglio with a couchant stag to *r.*, and at the back is chamfered round the edge.

Plate XV and fig. 59.

FIG. 59. No. 107.

D. ·8 in. 2 cm. L. of bezel ·62 in. 1·6 cm. Weight 74 grains.

108. ANOTHER, with slender hoop ribbed transversely, and flat oval bezel engraved in intaglio with a quadruped (lynx)? running to *r.* The back of the bezel is chamfered as in the preceding number.

Plate XV and fig. 60.

FIG. 60. No. 108.

D. ·84 in. 2·2 cm. L. of bezel ·46 in. 1·1 cm. Weight 48 grains.

From the collection of General Sir Alexander Cunningham. Cunningham[1], pl. xv, fig. 5.

109. SIGNET-RING, with slender hoop ribbed transversely, and flat almost circular bezel engraved in intaglio with a gryphon to *r*. The bezel is chamfered round the edge at the back as in the preceding numbers.

Plate XV and fig. 61.

D. ·84 in. 2·2 cm. D. of bezel ·54 in. 1·25 cm. Weight 96 grains. Obtained from Rawal Pindi.

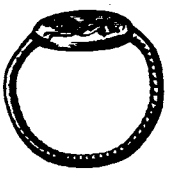


FIG. 61. No. 109.

110. ANOTHER, with plain slender hoop, and flat pointed oval bezel engraved in intaglio with a lion couchant to *r*. The bezel chamfered at the back as before.

Plate XV and fig. 62.

D. ·82 in. 2·1 cm. L. of bezel ·64 in. 1·6 cm. Weight 36 grains. Cunningham[2], pl. vi, fig. c.

FIG. 62. No. 110.

111. RING, the flat hoop expanding into a circular bezel in openwork embossed in the form of a lion (?), the legs of which extend round the hoop on either side. In the neck and flanks of the animal are sunk triangular and crescent-shaped hollows, doubtless once inlaid with turquoises or other coloured stones.

See fig. 63.

D. of bezel 1·4 in. 3·6 cm. Weight 167 grains.

The character of this ring is 'Scythic,' the coiled position, conventional treatment, and inlaying with stones recalling various specimens of goldsmith's work from Siberia and South Russia. Compare especially a bronze harness-plate of the 5th century B. C. found in the fourth of the 'Seven Brothers' tumuli in the Kuban district north of the Caucasus, discovered in 1876 (cf. fig. 25, from *Compte rendu*, 1880, p. 13), and five hemispherical buttons or harness ornaments found in 1899 in a tumulus near the farm called Zuboff, also in the Kuban district. On these buttons pairs of animals are somewhat similarly disposed in the circular space (*Bulletin of the Imperial Archaeological Commission*, St. Petersburg, 1901, p. 95, fig. 2).

FIG. 63. No. 111.

112. RING, with plain flat hoop, and flat circular bezel with a sunk surface on which is soldered a cross composed of lozenges and undercut.

See fig. 64.

D. ·96 in. 2·4 cm. Weight 138 grains.

The bezel of this ring was probably inlaid with stones, for we have no instance of enamel in the Scytho-Persian region, to which it must be ascribed, at an earlier date than the Sassanian period. Further, had it been enamelled, some slight traces must have remained in the undercut portions.

FIG. 64. No. 112.

113. CHALCEDONY SCARABOID, pierced lengthwise, and engraved in intaglio with a combat between two warriors, one of whom lies naked upon the ground, crouched within his shield and grasping the knee of his antagonist with his right hand. The victor stands to *r.* with his left knee bent and his foot upon the extended right leg of his adversary, whose hair he grasps with his left hand. In his right hand, which is raised to strike, he holds a spear with the point downwards, and his left arm is passed through the handle of a circular shield, round the edges of which are a series of loops. He has regular features and long hair, with beard and moustache; and he wears a short girded tunic and conical helmet with plume.

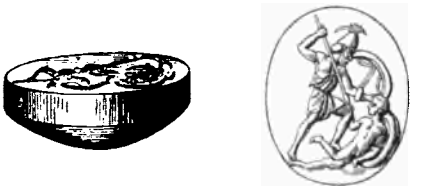


FIG. 65. No. 113.

See fig. 63.

L. ·96 in. 2·45 cm.

The combatants in this intaglio appear to be Greeks, and the workmanship is Greek, probably of the early fourth century or about the year B. C. 400. The treatment of the hair and of the conical helmet is very like that seen on coins of Ithaca with the head of Ulysses, dating from the fourth century. On the scaraboid form *see* Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, vol. iii, p. 61.

114. CYLINDER of chalcedony, engraved in intaglio with two battle scenes in unequal compartments. In the larger, a Persian king wearing a skirt drawn up so as to leave one knee bare, a jacket with wide sleeves, and a plain tiara with fillet, engages in combat with two barbarians, while on the ground are the prostrate bodies of two others. The king, who has his bow and quiver slung on his back, grasps the wrist of one opponent who has fallen on his left knee, his right being pierced by an arrow. This man wears a jacket or tunic with a girdle tied in front, and high boots tied with cords round the tops. With his right hand the king drives his spear into the shoulder of the wounded man, who holds a dagger in his right hand and a bow in his left and looks backward to a comrade standing behind him. The latter, who is similarly clothed but has a bow and arrows slung in a bow-case at his back, raises his left arm and with his right endeavours to lift his fallen comrade; his high cap with fillet is falling backwards from his head. Between the king and this upright warrior is the winged disc of Ahura Mazda, below which is a half figure of the god (or perhaps of the king) bearded and to *r.* within a ring. The two prostrate figures are dressed like the king's opponents.

The second scene is similar to the first. The king, attired and equipped as before, grasps his adversary by the beard with his left hand while with his right he drives his spear down into his shoulder. The barbarian whose knees are bent, raises his left hand in a gesture of supplication while his right grasps a straight triangular dagger. In the field above is the bust of Ahura Mazda to *l.* rising from the winged disc, and on the ground is the prostrate figure of another warrior dressed like the first.

Plate XV.

L. 1·44 in. 3·7 cm.

The scheme of the king doing battle with his enemies resembles that of the Greek monomachy over a fallen warrior, and is found on other cylinders, notably on an example from Kertch (*Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, pl. xvi, fig. 3 ; Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, vol. iii, p. 121, fig. 84), where the Persian monarch is engaging two Greek hoplites. This Kertch cylinder is ascribed by Prof. Furtwängler (as above) and M. Salomon Reinach (*Revue archéologique*, 1900, p. 248) to a Greek engraver. An onyx cylinder in the British Museum shows an ordinary Persian in combat with a hoplite, and both examples have the winged disc in the field.

In the fourth century the combat of Persian and Greek is found not on cylinders but on scaraboids or facetted stones, and the present cylinder must belong to the fifth century, though it is of a less archaic style than that of Darius (fig. 40). It is quite possible that the king's enemies in the present case are members of some nomadic tribe, though the bow-case is not here worn at the left side as on the Kul-Oba vase (Kondakoff, p. 123) or the cylinder (ibid., p. 137), and the high boots are peculiar, rather suggesting those of no. 48.

The winged disc was adopted by Persia from Assyria, where it represented the god Ashur. It has various forms, and is sometimes associated with the bust of Ahura Mazda, sometimes without it. The bust within a circle disconnected from the wings is seen on the rock-sculptures of Bavian in a gorge of the river Gomel, a day and a half east of Mosul: there however it is held in the hand of a deity, and represents the king. Although many Persian cylinders are considered to have been engraved by Greek workmen, there seems to be no reason for ascribing the present example to a Greek hand.

115. CYLINDER of wine-coloured sard rudely engraved in intaglio with a deity (?) seated to *l.* in a chair with straight back and holding up the right hand towards the extended left of a woman standing before him, who appears to be making an offering of a spherical object. Behind the chair stands a zebu. The deity wears close-fitting garments, as also does the female figure, whose long hair is indicated by a line of dots. In the field are four Aramaic characters. The cylinder is considerably worn.

See fig. 66.

FIG. 66. No. 115.

L. 1·5 in. 3·8 cm.

The Rev. G. A. Cooke reads the inscription רבבת, Rabâbath, a well-authenticated Aramaic proper name originating in the first instance in South Arabia (cf. G. A. Cooke, *Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, no. 140 A, and note on p. 303 ; also *Corpus Inscr. Sem.*, vol. iv, p. 233, where the Himyaritic (or Sabaean) form actually occurs as on this cylinder). The name may be that of a woman (as in *C. I. S.*, iv, p. 233), perhaps that of the woman here represented in the act of adoration. To judge from the form of the letters, the cylinder should be ascribed to the sixth century B. C.

V. Armlets and Torques.

All these objects are of gold unless it is otherwise stated. Some of the examples now in spiral form were probably once penannular torques or collars like that discovered by the French Delegation at Susa (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1902, p. 32), and worn like that shown in fig. 8; which is from the Mosaic

discovered in the House of the Faun at Pompeii. When found they were doubled up and twisted out of shape; and their present symmetrical form was given to them subsequent to their discovery.

116. GOLD ARMILLA, penannular, the hoop almost solid at the back and tubular towards the ends, which are in the form of winged monsters like those of figs. 4, 7, and 10, the hind-quarters and legs being represented in relief upon the surface of the hoop.

The ibex-like horns of each monster are chiselled on either side into a series of deep square settings close together, and the ends are cup-shaped; the neck and breast, the outer side of the wings, and the back are ornamented with fine applied cells or cloisons, which in the first two cases simulate feathers, and on the back are in the form of broad circumflex accents placed one above the other across an oblong sunk panel (fig. 67).

The face, body, and limbs are deeply chased with hollows following the lines of the monsters' forms and emphasizing them in a bold conventional style: these hollows, like all the applied cells and chiselled settings, have been filled with an inlay of shaped stones, only one of which remains between the wings of one monster.

Plate XVI.

FIG. 67. Detail of no. 116. (From *Archaeologia*, vol. lviii, p. 250.)

H. 5 in. 12·3 cm. B. 4·5 in. 11·5 cm. Weight 12 oz. 370 grains.

Figured in *Archaeologia* (published by the Society of Antiquaries of London), vol. lviii, pl. xvi. The companion armilla now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, which purchased it from Colonel Burton (*see* above, p. 2), was reproduced in *The Graphic*, November 26, 1881, p. 537.

The monster here represented is a type borrowed in the main from Assyria and Babylonia, though this precise combination of limbs and features is peculiar to Persia. Babylonia had known the winged lion with long pointed ears, and eagle's legs and tail; Assyria had occasionally substituted for the lion's head that of a crested eagle. Persia employed both varieties, but added a new feature in the horns which we here see, and sometimes changed the short feathered tail of the bird to that of the scorpion. The wings, with their full curve and fine conventionalism of design, perhaps reveal the influence of that Ionian Greek art which so early penetrated Iran (*see* above, p. 22). This form of wing first appeared in the 7th century, lasting through the archaic Greek period; eventually yielding to the type with a more pointed tip. For the horned lion-gryphon, which is also a characteristically Persian monster, *see* under no. 23, and for all varieties Furtwängler's article *Gryps* in W. H. Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*. In Persia, as in Babylonia and Assyria, composite monsters of this kind were representatives of daemonic powers, and were often depicted in such symbolic combats as that seen in fig. 10, which has a religious significance. But even in Assyrian times a tendency to a purely decorative treatment had begun, while in Syrian and early Greek art there had arisen a new conception of the gryphon as a symbol of divine power, or as a watchful guardian, which was ultimately to bring this monster into a special relation to Apollo. In the present instance it may perhaps be assumed that the creature has a prophylactic significance, and that in spite of its archaic type it has lost its daemonic and maleficent character.

It would be tempting, as the armilla was found in Bactria, to bring these gryphons into connexion with the gold-guarding gryphons which Ctesias, by a perversion of Herodotus' story of the ants, placed on the confines of Northern India (Herodotus, iii. c. 102; Ctesias, *Indica*; Aelian, *De natura animalium*, iv. 27). But Ctesias, like Aristeas of Proconnesos, the source from which Herodotus drew, was simply importing into an ill-known area and into a local legend the monster with which art had made him best acquainted; and we must suppose that the gryphons which these writers had in mind were of the Greek type with the unhorned eagle's head and the lion's body and legs. The type with which we have here to deal resulted from a process of development in which the Greeks had no share. The massive splendour of this armlet and of its companion at South Kensington makes it probable either that it was worn by a person of very high rank, or that it is a ceremonial object of the type referred to in the note to no. 188. The incurved form of the hoop is common to a number of early armlets (figs. 1–3), especially the ornaments known as 'Schwurringe' belonging to the European Bronze Age and best represented by finds in the Swiss Lakes; and this would seem at first sight to confirm the theory of a ceremonial use; but it is clear, from a study of the Frieze of Archers from Susa now in the Louvre, that the bowmen considered by M. Dieulafoy to be Immortals wore armlets having this peculiarity, and the incurved form need not therefore be regarded as incompatible with actual use (fig. 13 taken from Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, pl. viii, opposite p. 294).

A fragment of the stone with which this armilla was inlaid (one large piece between the wings still remaining in position) was analysed by Prof. Church, F.R.S., who stated that it was probably *lazulite*. The inlay was a stone and had certainly never been fused in the form of enamel (*Archaeologia*, as above, p. 521). This object may well be assigned to the fifth century, and in any case can hardly be later than the first half of the fourth.

117. COLLAR OR SPIRAL ARMLET, the whole surface transversely ribbed except the ends, which terminate in lions' heads, and were ornamented on the upper surface for the space of two inches with inlaid stones to represent the manes. The

FIG. 68. End of no. 117.

FIG. 69. End of an inlaid gold collar from Susa. (After De Morgan.)

actual necks of the lions were covered with very fine applied cloisons, of which only flattened fragments remain; the rest of the inlaid portion is cut into larger cells, the divisions between which are reserved in the metal, the series terminating in a small drop-shaped cavity. Nearest the neck these larger cells are rectangular, the remainder are arranged on either side of a median ridge and terminate in volutes as shown in fig. 68.

See fig. 68.

D. 4·1 in. 10·35 cm. Weight 8 oz. 140 grains.

This object is ornamented in precisely the same style as the large collar and armlet (figs. 1 and 69) found by the French Delegation in the bronze coffin of a woman at Susa, and now in the Louvre (*see* J. de Morgan, *La Délégation en Perse*, Paris, 1902, pp. 95 and 97, and for the collar

E. Pottier, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1902, pp. 20 ff.: fig. on p. 32). These objects, with which were also ear-rings and a necklace, all inlaid with coloured stones, chiefly turquoise and lapis lazuli, are proved to belong to the late 5th or early 4th century B.C. by their association with two coins of Aradus in Phoenicia dating from that period (de Morgan, as above, p. 95). Susa is a not unlikely centre for the manufacture of jewels of this character. The brilliant glazed tiles which were made there, with their raised ridges separating the different colours after the fashion of cells, appeal to the eye on a large scale much as inlaid jewels on a small; and the revival of the old prosperity of the city in Achaemenian times probably implied a renaissance of the goldsmith's art. Greek influences must also have been present here, as in other Persian cities where the court resided (*see* Collignon, *Sculpture grecque*, vol. i, p. 252, and E. Heuzey in *Revue politique et littéraire*, 1886, p. 661); and though in the case of these ornaments they have not modified native taste to any great extent they may be responsible in some degree for the restraint and the refinement of much of the work.

The importance of the Susa discoveries with regard to the history of inlaid jewellery has been alluded to above (p. 27). The flat circular ear-rings in the Louvre (de Morgan, as above, p. 93) have a distinct analogy in the method of their ornamentation to the inlaid brooches and other ornaments of the Teutonic kingdoms in Europe from the 5th to the 7th century.

118. COLLAR OR SPIRAL ARMLET of two coils, almost identical with the preceding number, but without any remains of the fine cloisons upon the lions' necks.

Plate XVII.

D. 4·4 in. 11·1 cm. Weight 7 oz. 384 grains.

119. END OF A COLLAR OR SPIRAL ARMLET, similar to the ends of the two preceding numbers. The remains of the fine cloisons upon the lion's neck are crushed flat; the larger cells cut in the metal are simply pointed at the lower ends, and do not terminate in volutes as in fig. 68. All the inlay lost.

Plate XXI.

L. 1·8 in. 4·5 cm. Weight 340 grains.

Cunningham[1], pl. xvi, fig. 12.

120. PENANNULAR ARMLET, the slender hoop transversely ribbed, the ends in the shape of lions' heads. They have no fine cloisons but a series of rectangular cells cut in the metal. All the inlay lost.

Plate XVIII.

D. 2·5 in. 6·3 cm. Weight 450 grains.

Gold penannular armlets terminating in lions' heads were worn by the Scythians of South Russia, but they may have been suggested from Greek as well as Persian sources (Bobrinsky, *Kurgans of Smiela*, vol. ii (1894), p. 132, fig. 15). The Smiela example is not inlaid.

121. END OF A PENANNULAR ARMLET, terminating in a lion's head. The mane is represented by punched volutes on either side of a median line and in form resembling those seen in no. 118 or fig. 68. The portion of the hoop that remains is spirally fluted.

L. 1·66 in. 4·15 cm. Weight 183 grs.

122. END OF A COLLAR with deep spiral fluting and terminating in a lion's head.

Plate XVIII.

L. (to the bend) 5·05 in. 12·8 cm. Weight 3 oz. 330 grains.

122 a. END OF A COLLAR, similar, but thinner.

L. 2 in. 5 cm. Weight 398 grains.

123. PENANNULAR ARMLET, the hoop transversely ribbed, the ends in the form of lions' heads with their necks channelled longitudinally.

D. 3·12 in. 7·9 cm. Weight 1 oz. 144 grains.

124. ANOTHER, the hoop transversely ribbed, the ends in the form of lions' heads. From the mouth of each projects the end of a wire which issues beneath the chin and is wound seven times round the neck.

Plate XIX.

D. 3·1 in. 7·9 cm. Weight 1 oz. 266 grains.

125. SPIRAL ARMLET of three coils, the ends in the form of lions' heads. The hoop, which is slender and transversely ribbed, does not belong to the heads and is probably modern.

D. 2·52 in. 6·4 cm. Weight 2 oz. 166 grains.

126. ENDS OF A PENANNULAR ARMLET, each terminating in a lion's head: the hoop plain.

L. 1·62 in. 4·1 cm. Weight 251 grains.
L. 1·3 in. 3·25 cm.

127–130. FOUR FRAGMENTS, each probably an end of a penannular armlet. Each is thick and tubular, and cast to represent a lion's head, the extremity being quite flat and not modelled in the shape of a muzzle. The longest has upon the neck drop-shaped cells of applied wire in two rows, probably intended to contain stones now missing.

Plate XXI.

L. 1·1 in. 2·8 cm.
L. ·7 in. 1·75 cm.
L. ·68 in. 1·7 cm.
L. ·68 in. 1·7 cm.
} Weight 1 oz. 465 grains.

131. PENANNULAR ARMLET, the ends (of gold) in the form of lion-gryphons: the hoop is of twisted silver wire and modern.

Plate XVIII.

Cunningham[1], pl. xvi, fig. 10.
D. 2·52 in. 6·55 cm. Weight 421 grains.
For the lion-gryphon *see* nos. 14 and 28 and note on no. 23.

132. COLLAR OR SPIRAL ARMLET, transversely ribbed and terminating in rams' heads. The necks are covered for the space of ·8 in. with four parallel rows of rectangular applied cells, terminated towards the hoop by a transverse band of triangular cells, all now empty but formerly containing coloured stones.

Plate XX.

D. 3·4 in. 8·55 cm. Weight 7 oz. 49 grains.
On the popularity of the ram's head in Greek jewellery *see* Furtwängler, *Der Goldfund von*

Vettersfelde, pp. 29 and 30, and cf. fig. 23. It is found in Graeco-Scythian goldsmith's work in South Russia (*Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, pl. xxvi, fig. 1, and pl. xxxvi, fig. 4; *Compte rendu*, 1869, p. 130, and 1880, p. 225, &c.), in Ionian metal work, and on coins of Cyprus. The ram was probably considered to have an amuletic power to avert evil, and on the necklace from the Taman peninsula (*Compte rendu*, 1869, as above) rams' heads seem to have been clearly amulets.

FIG. 70. End of no. 133. (From *Archaeologia*, vol. lviii, pl. xvi.)

133. PENANNULAR ARMLET, with plain rounded hoop, each end terminating in a ram's head. The necks of the animals are ornamented with applied cells in the same manner as no. 132, but the transverse cloisons are wavy instead of being straight. A number of the cells still contain table turquoises, and the same stones were also set in cavities in the eyes and ears; only eighteen stones now remain.

Plate XIX and fig. 70.

D. 7·25 cm. Weight 1,026 grains.
Archaeologia, vol. lviii, pl. xvi, fig. 3.

134. PENANNULAR ARMLET: the ends, which are in the form of goats' heads, being of gold and ancient, the plain silver hoop modern. The eyes of the goats are circular cells of applied wire; in the centre of the forehead of each is a triangular cell of the same, and on the neck a band of drop-shaped cells, all intended to contain coloured stones now missing.

Plate XVIII.

Cunningham[1], pl. xvi, fig. 6.
D. 2·54 in. 6·8 cm. Weight 357 grains.

135. ANOTHER, with similar modern hoop, and ancient ends in the form of goats' heads. In the heads, necks, and horns of the goats, cells are deeply cut for the reception of coloured stones now missing.

Plate XVIII.

D. 2·5 in. 6·3 cm. Weight 1 oz. 17 grains.
Cunningham[1], pl. xvi, fig. 9; Kondakoff, p. 339, fig. 300.

136. END OF A PENANNULAR ARMLET, terminating in an ibex, the hind-legs of which are extended along the hoop, the fore-legs bent. Cavities of various forms cut in the body of the animal were once filled with coloured stones now missing, as also were the rectangular cells upon the upper surface of the hoop formed by thick applied gold wires (five transverse forming arches, and one longitudinal).

Plate XX.

L. 2·22 in. 5·6 cm. Weight 432 grains.
The conventional representation of the muscles on this ibex resemble those seen on the armilla (no. 116) and the rhyton (no. 178).

137. PENANNULAR ARMLET, the slender hoop transversely ribbed. Each end is in the form of a winged goat with bent fore-legs, and hind-legs extended upon the hoop: the heads are turned backwards. The hair on the necks is indicated by punched circles with dots in the centres, and the wings are also represented by punched lines.

Plate XX.

D. 3·26 in. 8·3 cm. Weight 1 oz. 421 grains.

The winged goat was familiar to Graeco-Persian art, and examples from silversmith's work are the two handles at Paris and Berlin mentioned in the note to no. 10. Cf. also *Compte rendu*, 1880, pl. 1, fig. 5.

138. COLLAR OR SPIRAL ARMLET of three coils, with deep spiral fluting, the ends in the form of goats' heads.

Plate XVII.

D. 3·4 in. 8·6 cm. Weight 7 oz. 196 grains.

139. ANOTHER, similar.

D. 4 in. 10·1 cm. Weight 7 oz. 351 grains.

Cunningham[2], pl. vii, fig. 3; Kondakoff, p. 341, fig. 302.

140. PENANNULAR ARMLET with plain rounded hoop, the ends in the form of goats' heads.

Plate XIX.

D. 2·92 in. 7·45 cm. Weight 2 oz. 416 grains.

141. ANOTHER, with slender hoop transversely ribbed, the ends in the form of the heads and shoulders of bulls, the fore-legs being bent.

One head and part of the hoop modern.

D. 2·2 in. 5·55 cm. Weight 417 grains.

Cunningham[1], pl. xvi, fig. 11.

On the bull's head as an amulet see *Compte rendu*, 1863, p. 114.

142. ANOTHER, with plain hoop of triangular transverse section, end terminating in a duck's head.

Plate XIX.

D. 2·94 in. 7·5 cm. Weight 1 oz. 117 grains.

The cheniscus was a favourite motive in Greek and Roman art, but also occurs in Persia, the ends of the bow of Darius' attendant at Behistun terminating in this way. A good example (the handle of a vessel) from South Russia is figured in the Atlas to the *Compte rendu* of 1879, pl. iv, fig. 11. (For other examples (on ladle and colander handles) of the 4th century from the Kuban district see *Materials*, 1894, pl. vi, figs. 2 and 3.)

143. END OF AN ARMLET, the hoop triangular in transverse section, and terminating in a grotesque head with raised circular eyes formerly containing coloured stones.

L. 2·53 in. 6·4 cm. Weight 156 grains.

The head somewhat recalls that in Furtwängler, *Der Goldfund von Vettersfelde*, pl. i, fig. 4.

144, 145. PAIR OF MASSIVE PENANNULAR ARMLETS, almost triangular in section. Each is cast and chased to represent two animals with their tails interlocked at the back of the hoop, while their heads form the ends.

Plate XX and fig. 71.

D. 3·15 in. 7·9 cm. Weight 4 oz. 226 grains, and 4 oz. 246 grains.

These armlets are clearly barbaric in style, and must in all probability be assigned to Scythian art of Central Asia. It is not easy to say at first sight what the animals are, but a comparison with no. 23 suggests that they may really be lion-gryphons rendered almost unrecognizable by a wild conventionalization in which structural features and ornament are blended and confused. The horns and the wings are still visible in a rudimentary form, though the former are treated in a way which suggest antlers; the eyes are of the same triangular form as those of no. 23, and the shoulders and ribs are similarly treated; and although the long tails are broader, the fantastic nature of the whole design does not preclude their derivation from the gryphon type. The extreme debasement of the forms suggests, however, a rather later date.

Objects of this character are full of interest from their possible relation to the barbaric art of the period of the great migrations in Europe. It cannot be denied that in their general disregard of realism, and even in their treatment of details, they show affinities with the goldsmith's work of the Teutonic tribes; and it is perhaps not too rash to conjecture that Western barbaric art inherited and developed some of those modifications of ancient Mesopotamian or Iranian forms which were carried out on the Steppes of Central Asia by the barbarians of the East. The tribes roaming over those Steppes came into contact in Southern Russia with the Goths, who undoubtedly transmitted to Central and Western Europe fashions and motives long known in Asia: the history of the jewellery inlaid with garnets and glass pastes, which we commonly describe as Anglo-Saxon, or Merovingian, or Lombard, illustrates in a remarkable manner the way in which the Goths acted as intermediaries between Persia and the West (*see* p. 25). The intercourse with Persia, of which the treasures of Petrossa and Nagy Szent Miklos bear evidence, may have principally taken place across the Black Sea; but objects like these armlets suggest that a certain artistic influence was also exerted by the land route to the north of the Caspian, and that the importers of new designs were the peoples whom we vaguely describe as Scythians and Sarmatians.

FIG. 71. Ornament of no. 144.

VII. Miscellaneous Small Objects.

(Except where it is otherwise stated all these objects are of gold.)

146. STUD, with flat circular top and rectangular openwork base. *See* fig. 72.

D. ·96 in. 2·4 cm. Weight 101 grains.

FIG. 72. No. 146.

147. PENDANT in the form of a bird, perhaps a parrot. It is hollow, the eyes and feathers being embossed, and the feet and legs not articulated. On the back a ring for suspension.

Plate XXI.

L. 1·1 in. 2·7 cm. Weight 43 grains.

Cunningham[1], pl. xv, fig. 2.

148. DIMINUTIVE BIRD (eagle or hawk), the upper part of the wings ornamented with punched circles, the lower with engraved parallel lines.

H. ·64 in. 1·65 cm. Weight 27 grains.
Cunningham [1], pl. xv, fig. 2.

149. MINIATURE CUP, beaker-shaped; round the rim is a pearled border, and on the sides are three inverted triangles of applied pellets. At the bottom are two small circular bosses.

D. ·28 in. 7 cm. Weight 9 grains.
In the 'Scythian Room' in the Museum of the Hermitage are several diminutive gold cups of about this size, though differing in form, one being a kylix, another an amphora. They recall the tiny gold vessels forming pendants to Greek ear-rings found at Kertch (e.g. Kondakoff, p. 60).

150. BELL-SHAPED PENDANT, made from a thin plate of metal horizontally channelled: at the top a loop for suspension.
Plate XXI.

H. ·88 in. 2·4 cm. Weight 29 grains.

151–155. FIVE PENDANTS, each consisting of a short piece of chain of herring-bone pattern, from which hangs a plain bell-shaped ornament.
Plate XXI.

L. 1·6 in. 4 cm. Weight of the five, 155 grains.

156. HOLLOW RING, embossed on the outer surface with transverse parallel bands. It is penannular, but the space between the two ends is closed by a fastening working upon a hinge and formerly secured by a pin (now lost) which passed vertically through three loops, two of which are on the end of the ring, the third upon the fastening.
Plate XXI.

D. 1·1 in. 2·8 cm. Weight 43 grains.

157. RING of pearled wire.

D. ·86 in. 2·15 cm. Weight 32 grains.

158. EARRING (?), consisting of a plain wire bent into a circular hoop with a loop at the top, and a projection in the interior on which was probably once set a pearl.
Plate XXI.

D. ·76 in. 1·9 cm. Weight 22 grains.

159. HOLLOW RING facetted on the outer side, with a loop for attachment. It opens upon a hinge and is fastened by a pin.
Plate XXI.

D. ·5 in. 1·25 cm. Weight 35 grains.

160. PLAQUE, somewhat in the shape of a vase with a high foot. It is bordered by a pearled wire, which at the top extends over the field, forming two divergent

curves. Above is soldered a loop of similar wire. On the back are four small loops for attachment.

Plate XXI.

L. 1·46 in. 3·65 cm. Weight 66 grains.

161. CROSS of thin goldfoil with rounded ends, each of which is perforated.

L. ·84 in. 2·15 cm. Weight 7 grains.

Cf. similar objects from South Russia (*Antiquities of the Scythia of Herodotus*, pl. ix, figs. 9, 10, 12, and 13. St. Petersburg, 1866, in Russian).

162. THIN DISC, punched with a rosette of eight petals: border of punched dots.

Plate XXI.

D. ·7 in. 1·75 cm. Weight 5 grains.

163. ANOTHER; the design, if any, obliterated.

D. ·7 in. 1·75 cm. Weight 10 grains.

164, 165. TWO BEADS, barrel-shaped, with embossed ornament consisting of a broad central band of parallel diagonal lines, and two external bands resembling an egg-and-tongue moulding. At each end a raised pearled border.

Plate XXI.

L. ·66 in. 1·65 cm. Weight of each 31 grains.

166–170. FIVE FRAGMENTS of thin copper rod transversely ribbed and overlaid with a thin plate of gold.

L. (of the largest) 3·45 in. 8·65 cm.

171–174. FOUR FRAGMENTS of iron rod plated with gold and ornamented with furrows forming a design.

L. (of the largest) 2·2 in. 5·5 cm.

175. PLAIN CYLINDRICAL BEADS, two hundred and thirty-seven in number.

L. (of each) ·27 in. 6 mm.

176. CYLINDRICAL BEADS transversely channelled, thirty-one in number.

L. (of each) ·4 in. 1 cm.

177. DARIC, having on the obverse a king with serrated crown armed with bow and spear, on reverse a rectangular incuse depression.

Plate XXI.

L. ·66 in. 1·65 cm. Weight 131 grains.

B. OTHER OBJECTS FROM ANCIENT PERSIA AND INDIA.

I. SILVER VESSELS FROM ARMENIA.

178. SILVER RHYTON, parcel-gilt, the bowl horizontally fluted. The lower end terminates in the fore-quarters of a winged gryphon (cf. no. 116), and round the rim is an ornamented band in relief, composed of palmettes and lotus-buds, every alternate flower being gilded: between the fore-legs of the gryphon is a small hole serving as an outlet for the wine. The gilded parts of the monster are the tips of the horns, the wings, the crest, the raised band passing from the ears across the forehead and that crossing the beak, the cheeks, the mouth, the conventional marks representing the muscles on the fore-legs, and the raised necklet supporting a pendent jewel now lost. The feathers of the wings are executed in punched lines, and punched dots cover the front of the head and the cheeks. The eye-sockets, now empty, once held gems, and the upright mane or crest, now missing, was held in the deep channel formed by the two ridges on the neck. The horns are ribbed like those of the ibex.

The rhyton is in two parts, the fluted bowl fitting into the body of the gryphon.

Plate XXII.

FIG. 73. Detail from a silver dish from the Punjab in the British Museum. (To illustrate the use of the rhyton.)

H. 9·88 in. 25 cm.

Perso-Greek, 5th century B.C. Found at Erzingan, Armenia.

This vessel should be compared with that found in one of the 'Seven Brothers' tumuli upon the Kuban river, reproduced in *Compte rendu*, 1880, Atlas, pl. i, fig. 5. The latter rhyton, which terminates in the fore-quarters of a winged ibex, shows similar Persian affinities, and also has round the upper part a band of palmette ornament, differing from that here seen, but producing the same thin and somewhat jejune effect: it is assigned to the early 5th century, and our own example cannot be far removed in date. The monster is the same as that of the armilla (no. 116).

For the monster, cf. the examples on the Luynes panel (fig. 10), the sculptures of Persepolis (fig. 10), and the glazed bricks of Susa (fig. 4). The conventional division of the face by raised lines may be especially compared with that seen on the armilla and on the Susa example: the tips of the horns are, however, in the present instance rounded off instead of

terminating in cups or being twisted at the points. The crest may have been formed by a series of cut gems. On the conventional indication of the muscle of the fore-leg *see* p. 31 above, and compare nos. 116 and 136.

The lotus ornament round the rim is related to the types which first appeared in late Assyrian art, and are seen on early Ionian vases, as well as on bronze plaques found at Olympia (E. Curtius and Fr. Adler, *Olympia*, Berlin, 1890, pl. xlii, figs. 738, 739).

The rhyton form of cup, derived from the primitive drinking-horn, persisted into a late period and acquired popularity within the limits influenced by Greek or Hellenistic culture. Fig. 73 is derived from the design embossed in the centre of a silver dish from Tonk Dehra Ismail Khan, in the Punjab, presented to the British Museum in 1897 by M. Longworth-Dames, Esq^re^, and showing clear traces of Greek influence (*Archaeologia*, vol. lv, pp. 534 ff. and pl. xliv). Here we see a male figure drinking from a rhyton, and it would seem that the form was a favourite one as far east as the borders of India. The method of drinking from a rhyton by letting a thin stream trickle into the mouth from the small hole in the bottom was in itself, in all probability, a survival of primitive usage. It is still practised by the Georgians, who fraternize by holding drinking-horns above their heads and catching the trickling stream of liquor in the manner described (Odobesco, *Le Trésor de Pétrossa*, vol. i, p. 497).

Another rhyton from Armenia attributed to the Achaemenian period is in the Louvre. It terminates in a stag's head and is reproduced in *Les Arts*, Paris, 1902, p. 18.

179. CYLINDRICAL SILVER BOX, with flat lid, the sides horizontally fluted. The lid, which revolves upon a vertical pin passing through the interior, had on the top five marks of applied ornamental bosses now missing, while on the under side are scratched two standing figures of a man and a woman (fig. 35). The man wears

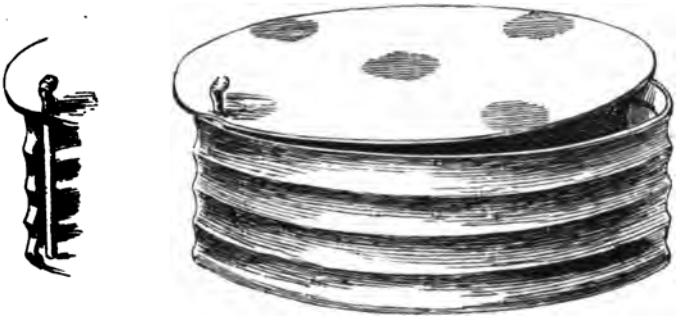


FIG. 74. No. 179.

the hood, covering the ears and the chin (cf. nos. 2 and 45), a long coat with furred border (cf. no. 2 and fig. 32) and pendent sleeves, trousers, and boots; his projecting left arm shows the striped or pleated sleeve of his tunic. In his *l.* hand he holds a bow, and in his *r.* a flower (?).

The woman wears an upper garment with pendent sleeves, and a long skirt: her feet appear to be bare. Her hair hangs down her back, and she wears loop ear-rings. Both her hands are raised; the *r.* is empty, but with the *l.* she holds up a flower.

See figs. 35 and 74.

D. 5 in. 12·7 cm.

Found near Erzingan, Armenia.

The figure of the man, which resembles those on more than one object in the Oxus Treasure,

may also be compared with a man engraved on one face of a carnelian cylinder mounted in a ring found in a tumulus of the early 3rd century B. C., ten versts north of Anapa (*Compte rendu*, 1882, p. 62, and Atlas, pl. v, fig. 1): this figure also wears a hood, and carries a similar bow. For the female figure cf. nos. 103, 104, 89 and 93 (*Plate* XIV), and *see* note to no. 103.

180. SILVER DISH with embossed ornament consisting of radiating stems terminating in lotus-flowers; between each pair of flowers is a lobe reproducing on a larger scale the central portion of the flower.

Plate XXIII.

D. 10 in. 25·3 cm.

Found near Erzingan, Armenia.

A similar dish, also from Armenia, is in the Louvre (*Les Arts*, vol. i, Paris, 1902, p. 18).

Radiating designs derived from the lotus are found on early Greek pottery (e. g. Rhodian plates), and in consequence of their suitability to the decoration of a circular surface, are found in numerous variations down to a late period. In metal work examples occur in the tombs of South Russia, and of these a silver disc from the breast of a warrior in a *kurgan* of the 5th or early 4th century B. C. may be specially mentioned, though the arrangement of the lobes and the flowers is not identical (*Compte rendu*, 1877, Atlas, pl. iii, fig. 5). The ornamentation of the remarkable embossed gold disc from Kul-Oba (Kondakoff, p. 85, fig. 114), covered with masks and barbarians' heads, is also based upon a lotus design; and as an instance of the last stage of its degradation may be mentioned the silver dish from Perm now in the British Museum (J. R. Aspelin, *Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien*, fig. 614, p. 144).

181. SHALLOW SILVER DISH, with flat narrow border; without ornament. The interior is discoloured with a radiating design, probably from the previous plate having been lying within it when found.

D. 11·6 in. 30 cm.

Found near Erzingan, Armenia.

182. PLAIN SILVER BOWL, the lower part hemispherical, broad expanding lip, and slight shoulder at junction.

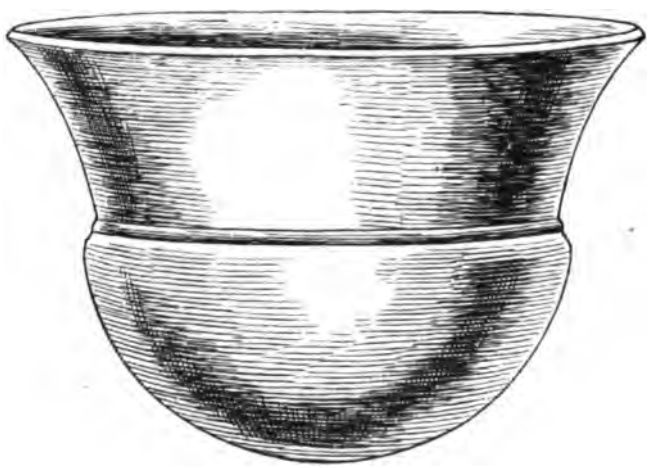


FIG. 75. No. 182.

D. 2 in. 46·2. cm. This and the following two bowls are not very different from those carried

by men in the sculptures of Persepolis (Flandin and Coste, vol. ii, pl. 105–108). Deep bowls of a somewhat similar shape have been found in South Russia, where they are attributed to the 1st and 2nd centuries A. D. (*Compte rendu*, 1874, p. 110; 1879, p. 209). Cf. also the vessel held by the figure on the gold plaque, no. 69.

183. PLAIN SILVER BOWL, identical.

184. ANOTHER, similar.

D. 6·9 in. 17·5 cm.

185. SILVER SCOOP, the sides vertically channelled, the upper end depressed in two lobes. Closed end embossed on base in an outline somewhat resembling that of a peach.

Plate XXIII.

L. 9·8 in. 24·7 cm.

186. ANOTHER, precisely similar.

II. SILVER VESSELS OF THE SASSANIAN PERIOD (*see* p. 67).

Information on Sassanian silver-work will be found in the following books: A. de Longpérier, *Œuvres*, vol. i, p. 72, and vol. xv, p. 98; vi, 302–7; H. K. E. Köhler, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. vi, pp. 41 ff.; L. Stephani, *The Feeding of Serpents at the Orphic Mysteries*, in *Journal of the Imperial Academy of Sciences*, St. Petersburg, vol. xxv, third paper of the appendix (in Russian); L. Stephani, *Compte rendu of the Imperial Archaeological Commission*, St. Petersburg, 1875, p. 69, and 1878, p. 145; A. Odobesco, *Le Trésor de Pétrossa*, vol. i, p. 147, vol. ii, pp. 53 ff.; and *Gazette archéologique*, Paris, 1885, pp. 286 ff., and 1886, pp. 70 ff.; Ch. de Linas, *Origines de l'orfèvrerie cloisonnée*, vol. ii, pp. 349 ff.; J. R. Aspelin, *Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien* (Helsingfors), pp. 124 and 140 ff.; Kondakoff, Tolstoi, and Reinach, *Antiquités de la Russie méridionale* (Paris, 1891), pp. 411–432; M. Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse* (Paris, 1884), vol. v, pp. 94–96.

The publication of the promised volume on ancient oriental silver vessels, by the Russian Imperial Archaeological Commission, a work which has been entrusted to M. J. Smirnoff, of the Museum of the Hermitage, will supersede all these books and present the student with a complete and finely illustrated account of all the specimens now known to exist.

187. SILVER DISH, with remains of gilding. A Persian king riding to *r.* against a lion and lioness. With his *r.* hand he cleaves with a long straight sword the neck of the lion, which is attacking the horse's fore-quarters: behind her mate, the lioness, which is bleeding from a deep wound in the neck, is seen leaping up towards her cub held high in the king's *l.* hand. The manner in which the reins hang loose upon the horse's neck attests the perfect training of the animal. Below is a group of five conical mounds, behind which are two long leaves, the whole a conventional method of signifying that the scene takes place in a hilly country. The king wears a long-sleeved tunic reaching to the knees, and trousers, both engraved with parallel undulating lines to represent a fur or other material: the tunic is girded by a belt, and the shoulder and elbow appear to be protected with metal or leather plates: the boots are of pliant leather, and from these, as well as from the back, undulating streamers flutter in the wind. On his head, from which float two pairs of large and small streamers, he wears a crenelated crown surmounted by a crescent and globe: on his neck is a globular pendant, perhaps

attached to a collar, while an ear-ring of simple design is fixed in his right ear. His long flowing hair hangs at the back of his neck, as habitually seen on the coins and monuments (cf. no. 188): and he wears a cropped beard and whiskers. At his side hangs a quiver ornamented at the bottom with imbrications, and on the upper part with quatrefoils; his sword is long and straight, with a cross-hilt.

The horse's mane is clipped in a crenelated design, and from its head-band flutter two wavy streamers. It is richly caparisoned with a square saddle-cloth ornamented with punched circles in groups of three, and the tail- and breast-straps are fringed. The saddle itself is almost concealed by the tunic, but the girth appears before the king's knee. More streamers flutter from the hind-quarters, and the end of the tail is tied in a knot. From the saddle-cloth appear to float two ornamental spherical objects attached by cords or light chains (*see* below).

Plate XXIV.

D. 10·6 in. 27 cm.

From the collection of General Sir Alexander Cunningham.

A comparison with the coins (A. de Longpérier, *Essai sur les médailles de la dynastie Sassanide* (Paris, 1840), pl. viii, figs. 4 and 5; A. D. Mordtmann, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. viii (1854), pl. vii, fig. 18) shows that the king here represented must be Bahram, fifth of the name, or Bahram Gur (d. A.D. 442), the mighty hunter celebrated in Persian literature and tradition (*see* fig. 76), for the head-dress with a crescent as well as the globe characterizes this monarch, and the crowns of no two Sassanian kings are alike. On the crenelated form of crown which was known in Achaemenian times, *see* note to no. 1.

FIG. 76. Coin of Bahram Gur.

The motive of a huntsman holding aloft the lion-cub occurs upon Sassanian textiles in the *Kunstgewerbe-Museum* at Berlin and in the *Germanisches Museum* at Nuremberg (reproduced in colours in Dr. Julius Lessing's *Die Gewebesammlung des k. Kunstgewerbe-Museums*, Berlin). The objects swinging above the horse's rump are frequently seen on Sassanian sculptures (e.g. at Naksh-i-Rustam and at Shapur, Dieulafoy, *Perse*, vol. v, pl. xiv and xxi), as well as on the fine cameos in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris (Babelon, *Catalogue des camées*, no. 360, pl. xi), and on silver dishes in the Hermitage (Kondakoff, fig. 372 on p. 414; Odobesco, as above, ii, p. 55, fig. 71 *d*) and in the collection of Count G. Stroganoff (Kondakoff, fig. 379 on p. 425, and Odobesco, fig. 71 *e*), and have given rise to much controversy; some holding that they are ornamented appendages, others that they are weapons of the nature of sling-shots or 'morning-stars.' The fact that they often seem to be attached by chains would appear to be in favour of the latter view, which was held by Chardin and is supported by a recent traveller, Major P. M. Sykes (*Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, London, 1902, p. 326). The latter author remarks that the modern Persians all hold this opinion, and style these objects *topuz*, i.e. maces. But it may be noted that the examples seen on the silver dish in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Dieulafoy, *Perse*, vol. v, p. 103, and Odobesco, ii, p. 55, fig. 71 *a*), are of a different shape, certainly looking more like ornaments; and that the presence of a third and fourth example on the Hermitage dish mentioned above suggests that they may have been merely tassels serving the purpose of keeping off flies.

The costume of the kings upon the dish in the collection of Count Gregory Stroganoff (Kondakoff, fig. 379 on p. 425; Odobesco, as above, fig. 71 *e*), and on the dish in the Cabinet des Médailles just mentioned, as well as that upon the dish obtained by Dr. Lord in Badakshan

(Odobesco, fig. 71 *b*, and A. Burnes, *Cabool*, London, 1842, pl. xviii), is analogous to that here represented. The hairy tunic and fringed trousers are also seen on the reliefs at Naksh-i-Rustam representing Shapur triumphing over Valerian (Dieulafoy, as above, vol. v, pl. 15), and at Tak-i-Bostan (*see* fig. 42).

The other dishes representing mounted kings hunting may be most conveniently referred to in Odobesco, *Le Trésor de Pétrossa*, vol. ii, p. 53, small illustrations of all the examples being given on p. 55. In addition to the specimens already alluded to, the list includes a dish with Bahram (Varahram) II (A. D. 277–294) in the Museum of the Hermitage, St. Petersburg (Odobesco, fig. 71 *d*), and another with a Parthian (?) king in the same collection (Odobesco, fig. 1 *c*). A dish with a royal (?) huntsman on foot taking a deer with a lasso is figured by Aspelin, as above, p. 143, no. 613.

The technical peculiarities of this dish are puzzling. The surface being curved, it is not easy to tell whether any one part is higher than the ground. From certain indications it is probable that the procedure adopted in its manufacture was not unlike that employed in the case of no. 188, although the relief is here much lower. But the whole subject may have been embossed on one plate and applied to a specially prepared plain surface.

The foot-rim has been broken away, and the upper part of the lion-cub has been destroyed by the piercing of a hole through the upper part of the dish.

188. SHALLOW SILVER DISH (patera) with small foot-rim; imperfect, part of one side being wanting: the ornament consists of embossed figures arranged in two scenes. On the uppermost a king is seated on a throne supported by two gryphons facing outwards. In his *r.* hand he holds out a large ring to a bearded figure in long tunic and trousers wearing a long straight sword, who stands on his *l.* and extends his *r.* hand to receive it. He has long hair, round which are engraved radiating lines, and two bands or ribbons hang from the back of his head. He wears a tunic, trousers, and boots, and with his *l.* hand grasps the hilt of his sword, which he holds vertically between his legs: his feet rest upon a footstool which has somewhat the shape of an anvil. In the air between the two figures hovers a genius bearing a band or fillet for the king; and behind the second figure is a plant or tree with triple leaves. In the lower scene a male figure standing on the right, carrying a bow in his *l.* hand, and with streamers flying from the back of his head, holds out in his *r.* a large ring with pendent bands to a female (?) figure seated facing him, also wearing streamers and holding in her *l.* hand a rod or staff. In the border in the middle of the *r.*-hand side, a male figure reclines upon a couch or throne, holding in his *r.* hand a conventional flower and in his *l.* a cup. Before him sits a female (?) figure extending her *r.* hand towards him, while behind her, on a long seat without back, are two other women, each holding a flower in the *l.* hand. All turn towards the reclining figure, on the other side of whom, on a similar seat, sit two women (?) with crossed legs, the nearest of whom holds a flower in her *r.* hand.

Beyond these women is a conventional tree with triple leaves; and beyond the group first mentioned are a man blowing a curved horn, a running boy, and a standing male figure, all looking in the direction of the principal personage.

The method by which this dish has been produced is worthy of notice. It would seem that a plain surface was first made, on which the design was set out. The figures and other details were then embossed from another plate of metal,

cut out, and soldered in their proper places within the dish. The finishing of the soldered edges has been done with great care, and remains of gilding are still visible in some of the hollows.

The embossed figures are badly damaged, and in the border only the boy retains his head. Many of the other figures have lost the whole upper part of the body. The central part is better preserved, but the surface is so much worn that the details of the faces and the costume are obliterated.

Plate XXV.

D. 93·5 in. 23·7 cm.

Obtained from Rawal Pindi.

The scenes in the centre of this dish seem to be ceremonial, and those on the border to be concerned with private life. The two central scenes perhaps represent a ceremonial transmission of authority, for the seat with its winged supporters recalls the royal throne of Khosru II on the *Coupe de Chosroes* (*see* Babelon, *Cat. des camées*, pl. xlv). The ring, which was a ceremonial object under the earlier Asiatic monarchies, as we learn from the Assyrian sculptures of Nimrûd and other sites, appears to have had an especial significance in Sassanian times as an emblem of victory or prerogative, and was perhaps held in the hand when the royal oath was taken. Sassanian rock-carvings afford more than one parallel instance. Thus at Tengh-i-Saoulek in the province of Shuster (Flandin and Coste, pl. 224) a king is seen reclining on a couch and holding out a ring in his *r.* hand; at Tak-i-Bostan (Flandin and Coste, pl. 9) Khosru Parviz hands his son the ring, perhaps as an emblem of royal authority, while his queen Shirin holds up a ring of smaller size and pours a libation from an ewer. Another sculpture at Tak-i-Bostan shows a deity standing by two kings who each hold one side of a ring (*see* fig. 42; Dieulafoy, as above, vol. v, p. 115, and Flandin, pl. xiv); in a third at Naksh-i-Rustam (Flandin, pl. 182, and Dieulafoy, vol. v, pl. xiv) two mounted figures, possibly Ardeshir and a deity (*see* Dieulafoy, vol. v, p. 114), are similarly occupied; while in a fourth example at the same place (Flandin, pl. 186) Bahram II appears accompanied by his queen and his son as on the coins, and holds the ring in conjunction with the queen. The lower scene is also probably ceremonial; though it is perhaps impossible to conjecture its exact significance, the personage who here offers the ring may possibly be transmitting to the seated figure the emblem which he has himself received in the upper scene. It will be observed that in this case, as on some of the sculptures mentioned above, the ring has attached to it broad ribbons not unlike those depending from the king's head and from the heads of other personages on the dish. Such ribbons, which are a characteristic feature in Sassanian works of art, and are found attached not only to persons and animals, but also, as here, to inanimate objects, may in some cases have more than a merely decorative intention, and may be related to the *Kosti* or sacred girdle of the Zoroastrians (*see* p. 47): the ribbon or fillet carried by the genius in the upper scene perhaps confirms this conjecture. M. A. Odobesco has devoted many pages of his work, *Le Trésor de Pétrossa* (vol. i, pp. 454 ff.), to a discussion of the so-called oath rings (*Schwurringe*, *Eids-Ringe*), supposed to have been used when making solemn covenants by the ancient peoples of Europe in the Bronze Age, and by the Goths and Scandinavians of later times. He gives references to the literature of the subject; but his own exhaustive treatment and ample illustration make research in earlier books almost superfluous.

The winged genius with the ring or fillet occurs on numerous Sassanian monuments, great and small; for example, on the large reliefs of Shapur (Dieulafoy, as above, vol. v, pl. xix) and on a Sassanian seal found at Susa (the same author, *Suse*, fig. 255, p. 407). As it appears upon a Parthian bas-relief of Gotarzes I (ibid., fig. 252, p. 405), it was probably introduced into Persia through Graeco-Roman influence, and M. Dieulafoy would connect it with the Achaemenian winged busts holding rings, such as that at Naksh-i-Rustam (Flandin and Coste, pl. 178), which he considers to be royal genii (*see* note to no. 35). The ring may be compared with the wreath with fillets presented by Nike to the king on Parthian coins (*see* British Museum: *Catalogue of Greek*

Coins: Parthia, by W. Wroth, pl. xix, fig. 9; xx, fig. 1, &c.). It may be noted that the genius bearing a fillet occurs upon an early silk textile representing a sacrifice to the Dioscuri, preserved in the Church of St. Servatius at Maestricht, and perhaps made in the Asiatic provinces in late Roman times (F. Fischbach, *Die wichtigsten Webeornamente*, &c., Series I, pl. v).

The principal personage on the border of the dish reclines on a couch or divan of similar type to that seen on no. 190, where the subject is frankly convivial. The musician blowing the horn suggests that a feast is also here intended, though the cup rather divined than seen in the hand of the reclining personage is the only other sign of festivity. The lotus-like flowers in the hands of the seated persons recall those carried by figures in several other objects illustrated in this volume, all of which are of earlier date. This flower is found associated with Asiatic divinities in very ancient times: *see* note to no. 103. In Achaemenian art it is seen in the hands of the king or of court officials, upon the sculptures of Persepolis (cf. fig. 9, and *see* Flandin and Coste, pl. clv, clvi, &c.), upon engraved gems (Menant, *Glyptique orientale*, vol. ii, pl. ix, fig. 2; Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, vol. iii,. p. 120), and upon coins (E. Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, pl. iii, fig. 16). In some of these cases an offering may be intended, in others the flower may be a symbol of divine or royal attributes (*see* note to no. 103); in others, again, the idea which they are intended to convey may be that of formal greeting upon a festal occasion.

A late Sassanian dish, showing Hindu influence and representing a convivial scene, is in the collection of Count Gregory Stroganoff (Kondakoff, no. 19, p. 418, and Aspelin, as above, fig. 608 on p. 141). Here one of the female figures holds a flower and a vase; but others hold drinking-vessels, and musicians are more in evidence, as in no. 190 below. The style of this dish would suggest an early date, but the personage in the centre is not unlike Khosru II as seen on the *Coupe de Chosroes*, though he is without the characteristic head-dress of that monarch. Compare also, for the style of figure, the sculptured capitals at Ispahan (Dieulafoy, *Perse*, vol. v, p. 97), which Dieulafoy compares with the reliefs at Tak-i-Bostan of the period of Parviz. The radiations from the head, though on a smaller scale, suggest those of the standing deity represented in the sculpture at Tak-i-Bostan already referred to (fig. 42, and Dieulafoy, vol. v, p. 115). The bâton of the seated figure in the lower central scene recalls that held by the mounted deity (?) at Naksh-i-Rustam (Dieulafoy, as above, vol. v, pl. xiv), and by the standing deity at Tak-i-Bostan.

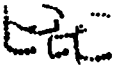


FIG. 77. Inscription on neck of no. 189.

FIG. 78. Vase from Perm.

189. SILVER VASE, pierced at the bottom like a colander, and probably intended to be used as a strainer for grape-juice. The body is ornamented with subjects embossed in high relief upon a gilded ground; the neck is plain, and on the rim are punched the characters reproduced in fig. 77.

The ornament in relief is composed of two vines symmetrically arranged to cover the whole surface, and rising from a row of trilobed figures representing hilly ground, which are punched with various flowers and plants. Amongst the branches, the tendrils of which are sometimes represented by dotted and punched lines, are disposed six birds (a cock, a parrot, a falcon, &c.) and two foxes, both the latter stealing grapes; while on either side, between the extremities of

the two vines, is a nude boy with hair tied in a knot on the top of the head. One of these children is grasping the stem of a large bunch of grapes, the other carries a full basket upon his back, supported by cords over each shoulder; while an oblong basket, also filled with grapes, lies before his feet. Round the shoulder and within the gilded portion is a row of thirteen bosses.

Plate XXVI.

H. 7·25 in. 18·5 cm.

Found with the dish, no. 190, in a copper vase in Mazanderan, Persia, in 1893.

A vase closely resembling this in form and in certain ornamental details was found in the district of Krasnouphinski in Perm in the year 1900 (*Compte rendu* of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, 1902, p. 115, fig. 242, from which fig. 78 is taken). The style of decoration, consisting of *putti* engaged in gathering grapes, and involved with birds and animals in the foliage of the vines, is common in late Roman art. One need only recall the 4th-century mosaics of Sta. Costanza, Rome (R. Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, vol. iv, pl. 206), and the vase from the treasure of the Esquiline in the British Museum (*Catalogue of Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*, British Museum, 1901, no. 306). In the early Christian art of the East, decoration of animals in the convolutions of vine-scrolls is especially associated with Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt (J. Strzygowski, *Hellenistische und koptische Kunst in Alexandria*, Vienna, 1902, p. 58 ff.), and the occurrence of similar motives in Persia, in view of the political and commercial conditions then existing, is only what might be expected. The façade of the remarkable palace of the Mashita (J. Strzygowski, in *Jahrbuch der k. preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1904), and the ornament of the carved ivory chair of Bishop Maximianus at Ravenna, are good examples of the style, the decoration of the palace showing North-Mesopotamian influence. The vine is found upon a flat silver dish from the government of Viatka now in St. Petersburg (Kondakoff, fig. 375 on p. 420).

Putti are seen upon the sides of a silver vase from Perm, formerly in Count Stroganoff's collection and now unfortunately lost (figured by De Brosses in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. xxx (1755), p. 777, the figure being reproduced by Kondakoff, p. 421, and Odobesco, *Trésor de Pétrossa*, vol. ii, p. 19). The same vase had round the neck, stem, and foot rows of hemispherical bosses like those of the present example, and recalling less directly those round the foot of the gold ewer of the Petrossa treasure, the Persian affinities of which are well known.

The border of trilobed figures with flowers and plants round the base of this vase is a conventional method of representing hilly ground, and may be compared with the similar conventional scheme upon the dish (no. 187), and upon other examples of Sassanian work.

190. SILVER DISH, with foot-rim: in the interior, a festal scene in a garden, represented in relief upon a gilded background. In the centre is a couch somewhat resembling that seen on the border of no. 188, on which is seated a man in a long garment confined at the waist by a girdle with both ends hanging in front, and showing a row of buttons along the leg. He has a cropped curly beard and wears a fillet, the ends of which are perhaps indicated by the projections issuing from either side of his head. In his *l.* hand he holds a cup, and in his *r.* an object resembling a fly-flap. On the couch at his feet is seated in oriental fashion a woman in a long dress holding up a pine-cone in her *l.* hand. Her hair is parted in the middle, and appears to hang in two plaits on either side of her face. Behind the couch a man in a girded tunic and high boots, and wearing a head-dress with ribbons, stands with his hands crossed over his breast. In the foreground to the right are two musicians similarly dressed; one is playing a

guitar with the neck downwards, the other blowing a long horn. The space to the *l.* is occupied by a number of miscellaneous objects: a vase suspended from three sticks, a wineskin, two palm-branches, one in relief the other engraved, a covered table, rather resembling a fire-altar with a crenelated top, in the middle of which stand two ewers, a heap of flowers, and a wreath folded over a short rod or stick. A vine with numerous clusters of grapes rises from conventionally represented water on the *r.* side of the dish and bends above the central figures until it almost touches the woman's head: at this point is perched a bird, with its head turned backward.

In the field, just behind the head of the principal personage, is a Pehlevi inscription.

Plate XXVI.

D. 7·7 in. 19·7 cm.

Found in Mazanderan with the vase no. 189.

As far as the subject is concerned, this dish is analogous to one in the Stroganoff collection reproduced by Aspelin (*Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien*, p. 141, fig. 608), the style of which cannot be fairly judged owing to the summary character of the drawing. That example is considered to show an Indian influence, which cannot be detected in the present instance. The decoration has probably been applied and then chiselled as in the other cases.

The roughness of the style and the locality in which the dish was found make it possible that it may have been produced for one of the fugitive Persians, perhaps one of the generals of the house of Karén, who reigned in Mazanderan (Tabaristán) for a hundred years after the Arab conquest, paying an annual tribute to the Khalifs. They remained Zoroastrians, and their coins are dated from the death of the last Sassanian king, Yezdegerd.

191. HEMISPHERICAL SILVER BOWL, the exterior ornamented with five medallions in low relief, each containing a male bust, the interspaces being filled with floral

FIG. 79. Outline of no. 191.

FIG. 80. Figures from Cave no. 1, at Ajanta. (After J. Griffiths, *The Paintings . . . of Ajanta*, vol. ii, pl. civ, fig. 8.)

scrolls. The background is gilded throughout. The persons represented are all dressed alike in tunics, and mantles with the ends tied at the neck; on their heads are conical caps, with ribbons tied at the back, and in their ears are ear-rings with double pendants. Their hair is long, and apparently gathered up under their caps, round which it appears on all sides. Two have pointed beards, the others are beardless.

Plates XXVII and XXVIII.

D. 5·35 in. 13·5 cm.

From Northern India.

The style both of the busts (*see* figs. 43 and 80) and of the scroll designs (*see* fig. 81) so closely resembles that of the frescoes in the great Cave no. 1, at Ajanta (*see* above, p. 69), that there can be little doubt that the bowl is of the same date, namely, the 6th century. As the persons at Ajanta wearing similar head-dresses and with similar types of countenance are considered to be undoubtedly Persians, it may be assumed that the men here seen are of that nationality. In both cases conical caps with ribbons and ear-rings are found, while the presence of the beard is a further indication of Iranian origin. Conical caps with ribbons are seen on the silk textile of Sassanian affinities in the church of St. Cunibert, Cologne, which Dr. Lessing reproduces in *Die Gewebesammlung des k. Kunstgewerbe-Museums*, and associates with Bahram Gur: the textile is also figured by F. Fischbach, *Die wichtigsten Webeornamente bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, Series I, pl. vi. It is perhaps vain to speculate as to the identity of the figures on this bowl: their costume does not suggest that they are kings or princes, but rather nobles or important persons in a private station. In the scenes upon the ceiling of the Ajanta cave, one of which is reproduced in fig. 43, the principal personage appears to be a noble or chief taking his ease among his own people, much after the fashion of no. 188: unfortunately there are no accessories to give an indication of the particular occasion which this beautiful object was made to commemorate.

The bowls or cups held by the persons at Ajanta appear to be about the same size as the present example, but mostly to be of a more conical form.

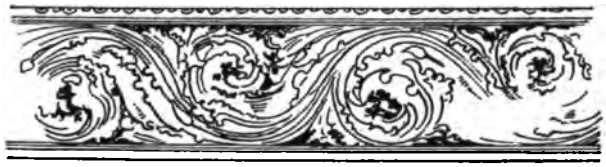


FIG. 81. Scroll design from the 17th cave at Ajanta. (After Griffiths, vol. ii, pl. 144.)

III. MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

192. BRONZE FIGURE of a running goat, cast hollow. Only one leg remains, and a projection beneath the hoof shows that the figure was made for attachment to some other object.

Plate XXIX.

L. 6·6 in. 16·7 cm.

The modelling of this goat is remarkably free and naturalistic, and quite distinct from the conventional manner of representing animals which is so generally found in Early Persian art (cf. nos. 11, 12, 116, &c.). It is even freer in style than most Greek work, but it must owe its admirable qualities to Greek influence.

193. DISC of soft green serpentine, the central part dished, and having in relief a youth riding a sea-monster to *r*. He wears only a mantle, which flies in the wind behind him and is fastened on his right shoulder. The monster's head and fore-quarters resemble those of a lion with long ears; the body is completed by a twisted dragon's tail; and the extremities of the legs are treated in a manner suggestive of use in swimming. The flat rim is engraved with parallel lines enclosing a cable border; and under the belly of the monster are divergent lines possibly representing the ribs of a pecten shell.

Plate XXIX.

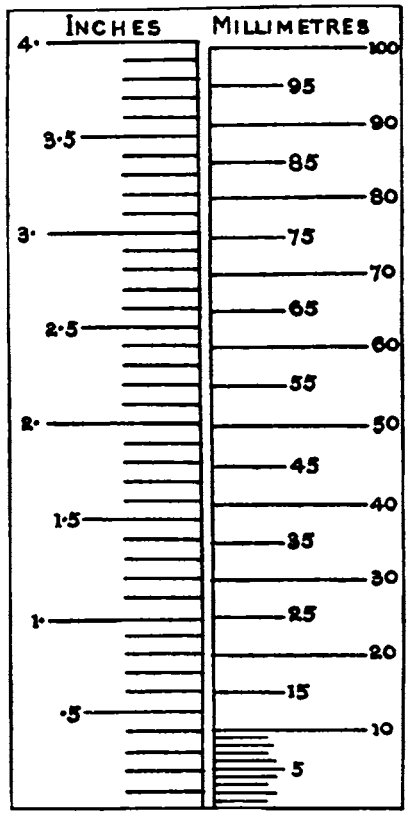
D. 5·05. 12·9 cm.

This object is one of those of which counterfeits in gold were manufactured at Rawal Pindi; and the illustrations in Cunningham[2], pl. vi. D, and Kondakoff, p. 350, are taken from the forgery, which was purchased by Sir A. W. Franks under the circumstances described in the introduction (p. 4). From the style of the work, this disc cannot be earlier than the third century B. C., and may even go down to the Roman period. The modification of the legs of hippocamps for use in swimming may be remarked in other examples of the third century. (Article 'Hippokamp' in W. H. Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon*.) A marble disc in the Museum, of the same shape as the present example, with reliefs representing Diana and Actaeon, and dating from the Roman period, was found at Akra in the Punjab, and is now exhibited in the room of gold ornaments and gems. It is figured by C. Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, vol. iii, pl. i, fig. 1.

194. DISC, of identical form; the material and the design are the same, but the surface of the stone is rougher.

D. 4·1 in. 10·3 cm.

The variations in detail between this object and the preceding are very inconsiderable, appearing in the border and on the breast of the monster. The identity of subject may perhaps be regarded as a suspicious circumstance, but the disc does not present the characteristics of a forgery.



COMPARATIVE ENGLISH AND METRICAL SCALE.

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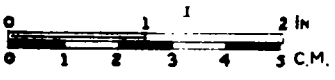

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STATUETTES AND HEADS

PLATE III

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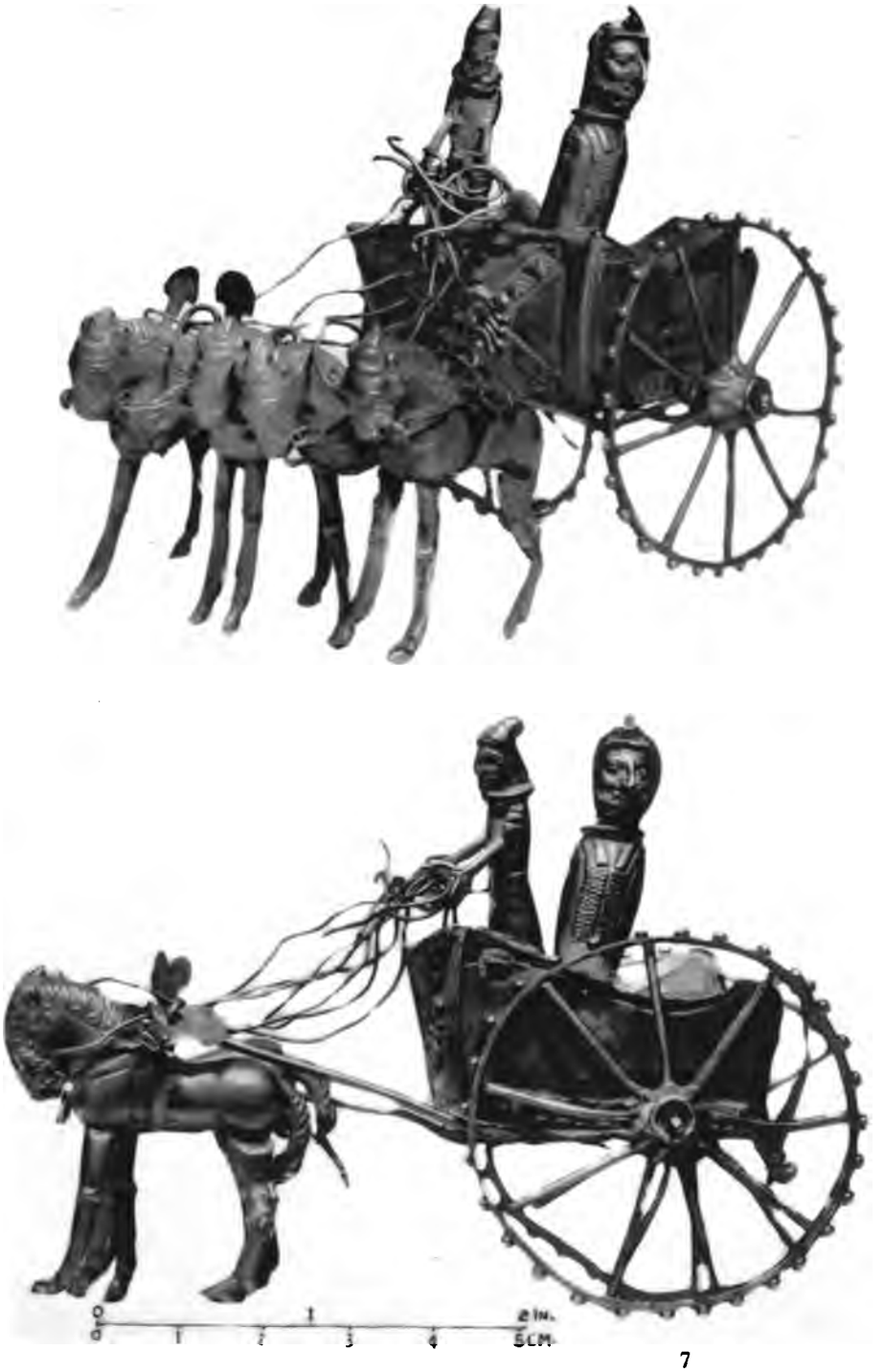
GOLD HEAD AND BOWL



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GOLD CHARIOT
(TWO VIEWS)

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SILVER HANDLE AND PATERA

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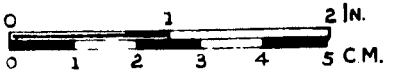

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GOLD STAGS AND FISH; SILVER GOOSE

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GOLD PATERA

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GOLD STATUETTE, EMBOSSED OBJECTS, ETC.

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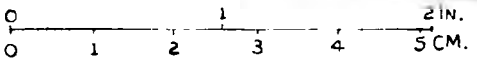

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GOLD PLAQUES

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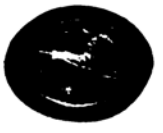

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RINGS AND CYLINDER

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PLATE XVI

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GOLD ARMILLA

Plate XVII

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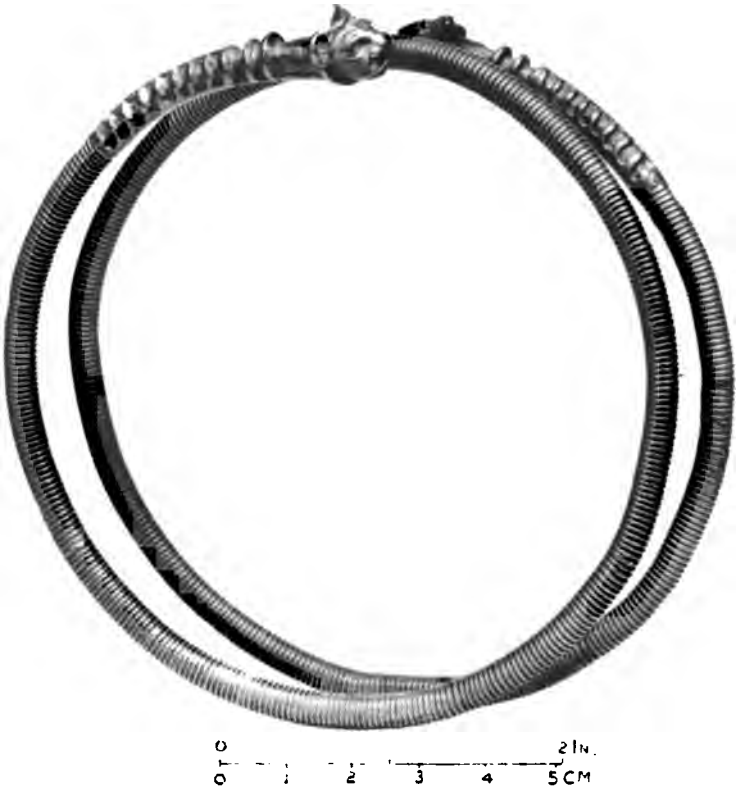

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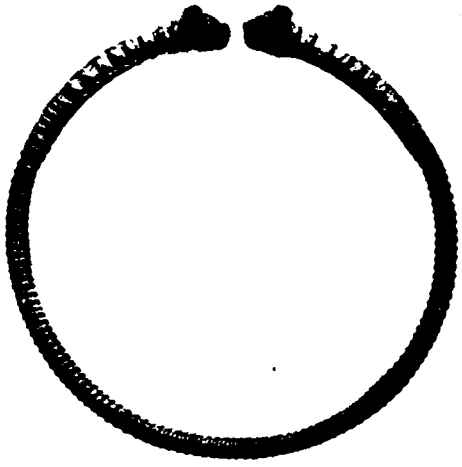
GOLD ARMLETS

PLATE XVIII



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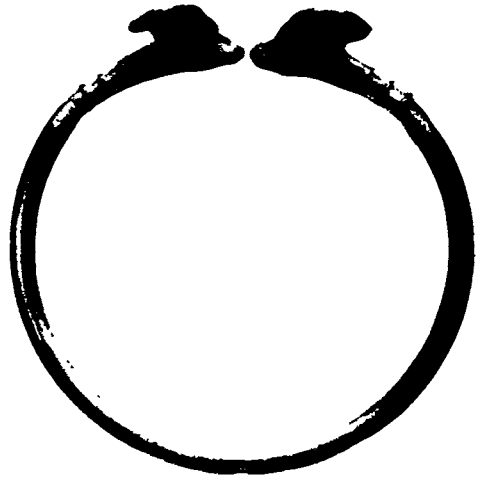

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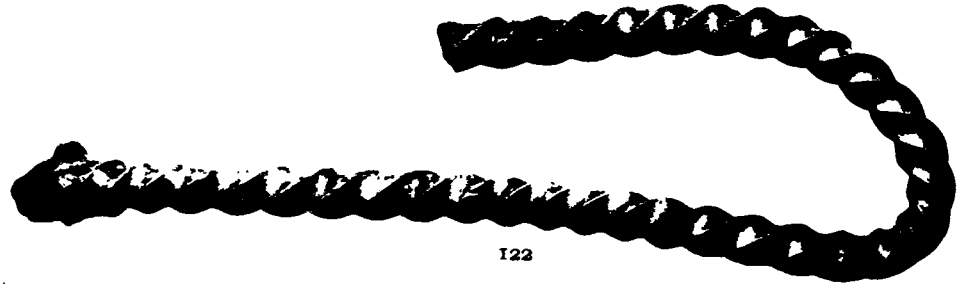

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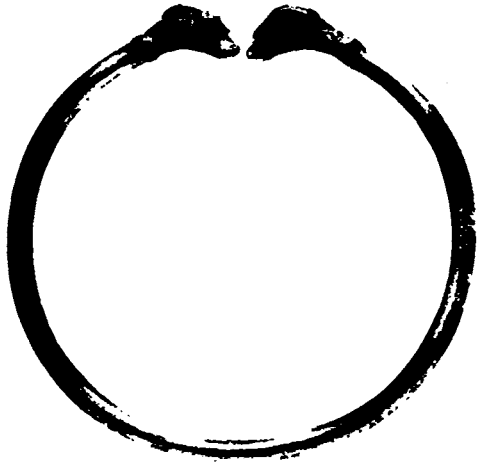

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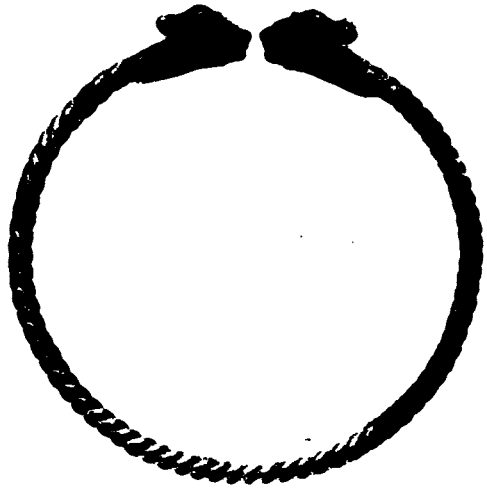

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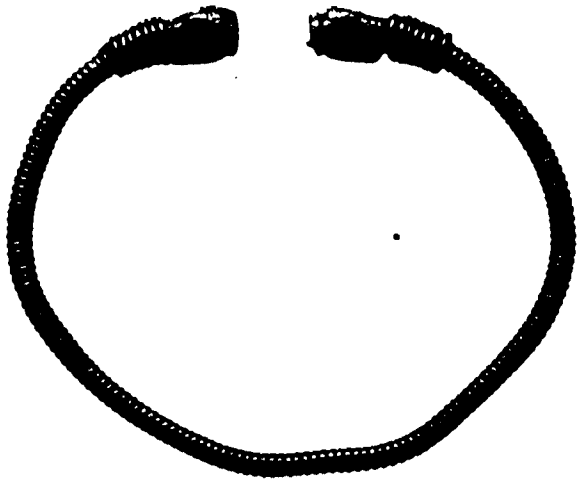
GOLD ARMLETS



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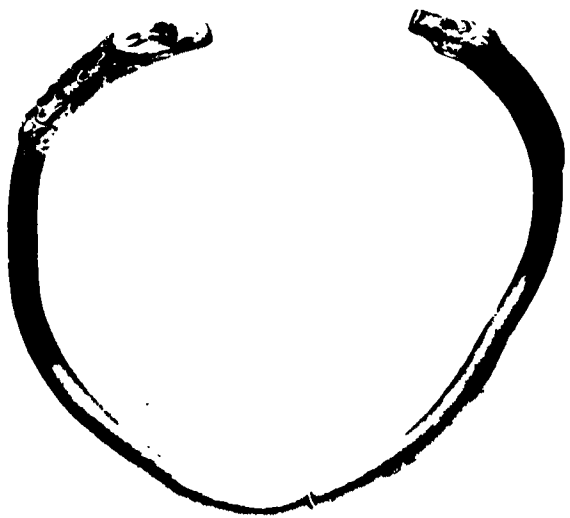

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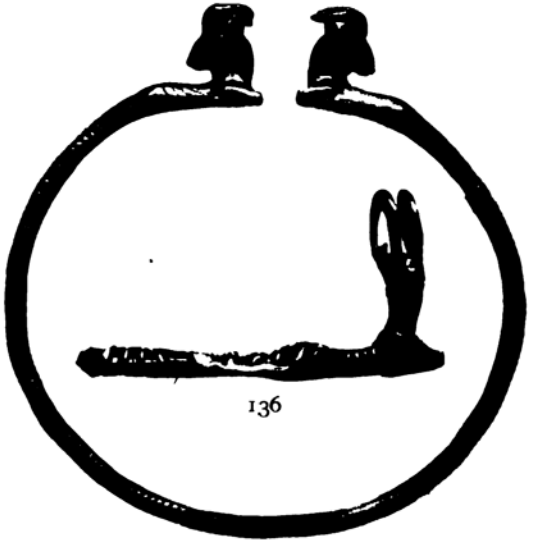

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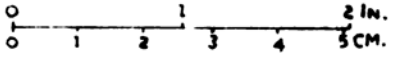

GOLD ARMLETS

Plate XXI

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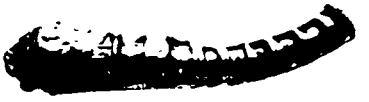

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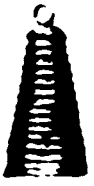

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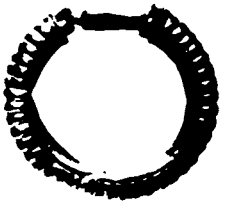

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SASSANIAN SILVER DISH

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SASSANIAN SILVER VASE AND DISH

Plate XXVII

191 INDIAN SILVER BOWL

Plate XXVIII

191 INDIAN SILVER BOWL

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BRONZE GOAT AND STONE DISC